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The Department of State

bulletin

Vol. XXX, No. 781

June 14, 1954



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The Department of State BULLETIN, a weekly publication issued by the Public Services Division, provides the public and interested agencies of the Government with information on developments in the field of foreign relations and on the work of the Department of State and the Foreign Service. The BULLETIN includes selected press releases on foreign policy, issued by the White House and the Department, and statements and addresses made by the President and by the Secretary of State and other officers of the Department, as well as special articles on various phases of international affairs and the functions of the Department. Information is included concerning treaties and international agreements to which the United States is or may become a party and treaties of general international interest.

Publications of the Department, as well as legislative material in the field of international relations, are listed currently.

For sale by the Superintendent of Documents
U.S. Government Printing Office
Washington 25, D.C.

PRICE:
52 issues, domestic \$7.50, foreign \$10.25
Single copy, 20 cents

The printing of this publication has been approved by the Director of the Bureau of the Budget (January 22, 1952).

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Education and Freedom—Core of the American Dream

Address by the President¹

White House press release dated May 31

This occasion has for me particular significance because, for a time, I was intimately associated with those whose lifework is the education of America's youth. I am very proud that, through a brief span in Columbia's 200-year history, my name was closely joined with that of this great institution. For such expression of personal pride in an association with a home of learning, I have illustrious predecessors.

Thomas Jefferson, for one, at the end of his long life, preferred that posterity should think of him, not as the holder of high office, but for his relationship to the University of Virginia.

He held that the free flow of information was indispensable to the maintenance of liberty. He wrote that if he had to make a choice between a society without newspapers or newspapers without a government, he would prefer the latter. And, of the diffusion of knowledge among the people through schools, he said: "No other sure foundation can be devised for the preservation of freedom and of happiness."

A relentless foe of tyranny in every guise, Jefferson throughout his life was steadfast to a fundamental tenet of Western society, proclaimed 2,000 years ago in the treasury of the Temple at Jerusalem, that the truth will make men free.

The pursuit of truth, its preservation and wide dissemination; the achievement of freedom, its defense and propagation—these purposes are woven into the American concept of education. The American university—neither the property of a favored class, nor an ivory tower where visionaries are sheltered from the test of practice—every American university fundamentally is dedicated to Columbia's Bicentennial theme, "Man's right to knowledge and the free use thereof."

Those who chose the theme of this Bicentennial could not have found a more American one. I say this with apology to scholars of all countries,

lest they think that I might be deliberately narrowing a universal principle to a provincial application. But from the very beginning of the Republic, education of the people, freedom for the people—these interdependent purposes have been the core of the American dream.

Far from being fearful of ideas, the founders of the Republic feared only misguided efforts to suppress ideas.

No less profound was their faith in man's ability to use freedom, for the achievement of his own and his country's good. In the freedom of the individual, they saw an energy that could hurdle mountains, harness rivers, clear the wilderness, transform a continent.

So convinced, they proclaimed to all the world the revolutionary doctrine of the Divine Rights of the Common Man. That doctrine has ever since been the heart of the American faith. Emphatic rejection of this faith is the cardinal characteristic of the materialistic despotisms of our time.

In consequence, the world, once divided by oceans and mountain ranges, is now split by hostile concepts of man's character and nature. Physical barriers and their effects have been largely surmounted. But new barriers seem more insuperable than the old.

Two Opposing Camps

Two world camps, whose geographic boundaries in important areas are mutually shared, lie farther apart in motivation and conduct than the poles in space. One is dedicated to the freedom of the individual and to the right of all to live in peace; the other, to the atheistic philosophy of materialism and the effort to establish its sway over all the earth. Watching the two opposing camps are hundreds of millions still undecided in active loyalty.

Today, there is no more important knowledge for each of us to understand than the essential characteristics of this struggle.

¹Made on May 31 at the Columbia University National Bicentennial Dinner at New York City.

One fact stands out stark and clear: Of all who inhabit the globe, only relatively small numbers—only a handful even in Russia itself—are fixed in their determination to dominate the world by force and fraud. Except for these groups in the several nations, mankind everywhere—those who still walk upright in freedom, those who hesitate in neutralism, those who must bow to communism—mankind everywhere hungers for freedom, for well-being, for peace. Now, how can a few men thwart the will of hundreds of millions?

Because, answering to no judge in conscience or in public opinion, they are engaged in a relentless and highly organized world campaign of deceit, subversion, and terrorism. And, opposed to them, there is no single, global effort to promote knowledge and cooperation.

They preach a material dogma that is abhorrent to us, a dogma coated with false promises. And they speak it with a single and a tireless voice, while the free world speaks with diverse tongues a message that demands from each responsibility, perseverance, and sacrifice.

Our opponents focus all the weight of government on the single objective they have chosen as the next goal. The free world uses government for the furtherance of human happiness, a front so broad that forward movement is at times almost imperceptible.

To spread their falsehoods, the few who seek world domination possess a global organism ceaselessly engaged in carrying out the orders of their masters. To give the world the truth, the free nations rely largely on the volunteer efforts of individuals—efforts often weak because they are intermittent and uncoordinated.

Possibly in no other way do the Communists so clearly exhibit their fear of the free world achieving real unity as in their persistent efforts to divide and thereby weaken us. They exploit every difference of view among independent nations to make honest discussion falsely appear, not as a valued characteristic of free systems, but as indication of mutual hatreds and antagonisms. This doctrine of divide and conquer they apply not only as between nations but among groups and individuals of the same nation. They ceaselessly attack our social, industrial, educational, and spiritual institutions and encourage every type of internecine struggle of whatever kind.

It is very easy to become an unwitting tool or ally of such conniving. For example, there is no other subject or purpose in which Americans are so completely united as in their opposition to communism. Yet, my friends, and I say this sadly, is there any other subject that seems, at this moment, to be the cause of so much division among us as does the matter of defending our freedoms from Communist subversion? To this problem we must apply more knowledge and intellect and less prejudice and passion. Above all, we must not permit any one to divert our attention from

the main battle and to inspire quarrels that eventually find good citizens bitterly opposed to other good citizens, when basically all would like to be joined in effective opposition to communism.

Now, we must of course require from the governmental organizations set up for our internal and external security the utmost in vigilance, energy, and loyalty. We must make certain through constant examination that they are so performing their duties. Let us provide any additional labor or machinery necessary to protect America—remembering that protecting America includes the protection of every American in his American rights. Let us not lose faith in our own institutions and in the essential soundness of the American citizenry, lest we—divided among ourselves—thus serve the interests and advance the purposes of those seeking to destroy us.

The Soviet Communists claim that their cause is timeless, possibly requiring an entire era to achieve desired results. But they know that the truth is that freedom possesses an unchanging validity and cumulative power as more millions learn of it. So the dictators seek to deny to the world the time and opportunity to learn the truth of both communism and freedom. The power-hungry few are therefore persistently aggressive.

In this situation, we, the American people, stand committed to two far-reaching policies—

First and foremost: We are dedicated to the building of a cooperative peace, based upon truth, justice, and fairness.

Second: To pursue this purpose effectively, we seek the strengthening of America—and her friends—in love of liberty, in knowledge and comprehension, in a dependable prosperity widely shared, and in a military posture adequate for security.

In these two policies, there is no iota of aggression, no intent to exploit others or to deny them their rightful place and space in the world. This consideration of others—this dedication to a world filled with peaceful, self-respecting nations—finds its only opposition in militant totalitarianism.

If we are to work intelligently in the cause of freedom, we must study and understand the factors in the world turmoil.

Even when so armed with knowledge, it is not easy for the free world's representatives to negotiate successfully with those who either cannot or will not see the truth or admit the existence of an obvious fact.

But surely, even the men in the Kremlin must realize that before all mankind now lies a grand prospect of a far better life for everyone. Improvement of the human condition requires only that the scientists of every nation concentrate on the means to a plentiful life rather than on the tools of sudden death; that the millions now under arms be released to fruitful work; that industries of war be converted to the production of useful goods.

have sought and will seek to make this prospect a reality.

Knowledge of the efforts being made by our own government to lead the world to this goal is another form of information important to every citizen.

The present administration assumed office 16 months ago, fully aware of the ruthless manner in which the Communists negotiate, conscious of the dependability of their agreements. But we believed that this country's foreign policy must be dedicated to unremitting effort for the preservation of peace, within the enlightened self-interest and fundamental objectives of the United States. Partisan purposes, personal attitudes, all pressures of lesser interests, we believed, had to be subordinated to this paramount goal.

We knew that every negotiation with the Communists would be fraught with traps and pitfalls, we knew, too, that positive, determined, day-by-day toil would pay real dividends among the free nations. We sought a rebirth of trust among nations, an enduring foundation for a cooperative peace—not a mere breathing space free from both communist crisis.

Every measure we have proposed has been conceived as a step toward this rebirth of trust. These proposals have included an honorable armistice in Korea; a free and united Germany; a liberated Austria; a secure Indochina and Southeast Asia; atomic energy harnessed for peaceful purposes under international control.

New Principle of Freedom

The first has been achieved. The armistice in Korea, moreover, inaugurated a new principle of freedom—that prisoners of war are entitled to choose the side to which they wish to be released. Its impact on history, that one principle may weigh more than any battle of our time.

Negotiations to unify Germany have been, for the time being at least, nullified by Soviet demands for a satellite climate in that country. With respect to Austria, the United States, Great Britain, and France agreed to accept state treaty terms which up to that moment had been acceptable to the Soviet Union. But once this acceptance was announced, the Soviet Union immediately insisted on new conditions which would enable it, for an indefinite period, to keep military occupation in Austria.

To such a plan we could not agree. Far better, our administration believes, that we end the discussion with the issue still unresolved than to compromise a principle or to accept an agreement whose price might be exacted in blood years hence. In our effort to find the ways by which the incalculable inventiveness of man should not be dedicated to his death, but consecrated to his life, there have been written exchanges of views between the United States and the Soviet Union. Secretary of State Dulles has personally conferred

both at Berlin and at Geneva with the Soviet Foreign Minister, Mr. Molotov. These have not been productive of the results we seek, but we, on our side, are continuing exchanges of views and consultations with the other free nations principally involved.

We intend to proceed with these and other like negotiations, confident in the merits of our cause, realistic in our appraisal of Soviet intention, and assured that our purposes and hopes will survive even the most frustrating series of talks.

To be successful, our peaceful purposes and hopes must of course be clad in obvious truth and constantly proclaimed to the world. Our actions must stand examination by every eye—friendly and hostile and doubtful. We must be forthright and patient in presenting them. Scarcely could we devise, for the cause of peace, a more fitting battle cry than the theme of the Columbia Bicentennial: "Man's right to knowledge and the free use thereof."

Let us not, however, define truth or knowledge of the truth solely in the narrow terms of mere fact or statistic or mathematical equation. Wisdom and human understanding—a sense of proportion—are essential. Knowledge can give us nuclear fission; only wisdom and understanding can assure its application to human betterment rather than to human destruction.

In this light, the Columbia theme is a dynamic idea, a true offspring of the revolutionary doctrine proclaimed by our forefathers. We should preach it—and practice it—fearlessly.

Here, tonight, in this brilliant company and pleasant surroundings, we might easily take for granted, as assured through all time, the preservation and the free use of knowledge. Two hundred years of Columbia history and the existence of thousands of other institutions of learning in our country seem to give validity to such assurance. But can we be sure that possession of these values, even by ourselves, is as indestructible as it is priceless? The bleak history of a dozen nations insistently warns us differently.

Always and everywhere, even though they may never have experienced it—even though they know its values only in their instincts rather than in their minds—men have sought personal liberty; have fought for it; have died for it.

Nevertheless, within the past few decades, the whole philosophy of our founding fathers has been rejected by powerful men who control great areas of our planet. The revolutionary doctrines of our free society have not, to America's amazement, swept around the world. Rather, we have too often seen the counterattacks of fascism and of communism substitute for them the police state, with suppression of all liberties and free inquiry. We have too often seen education perverted into an instrument for the use and support of tyranny.

Beyond this, these few decades have seen science confer upon man technical processes whose colos-

sal destructiveness, the virtual obliteration of space as a protective shield, has brought all of us to the frontline of any new war.

Amid such alarms and uncertainties, doubters begin to lose faith in themselves, in their country, in their convictions. They begin to fear other people's ideas—every new idea. They begin to talk about censoring the sources and the communication of ideas. They forget that truth is the bulwark of freedom, as suppression of truth is the weapon of dictatorship. We know that when censorship goes beyond the observance of common decency, or the protection of the nation's obvious interests, it quickly becomes, for us, a deadly danger. It means conformity by compulsion in educational institutions; it means a controlled instead of a free press; it means the loss of human freedom.

The honest men and women among these would-be censors and regulators may merely forget that the price of their success would be the destruction of that way of life they want to preserve. But the dishonest and the disloyal know exactly what they are attempting to do—perverting and undermining a free society while falsely swearing allegiance to it.

Whenever, and for whatever alleged reason, people attempt to crush ideas, to mask their convictions, to view every neighbor as a possible enemy, to seek some kind of divining rod by which to test for conformity, a free society is in danger. Wherever man's right to knowledge and the use thereof is restricted, man's freedom in the same measure disappears.

Our Heritage of Dissent

Here in America we are descended in blood and in spirit from revolutionaries and rebels—men and women who dared to dissent from accepted doctrine. As their heirs, may we never confuse honest dissent with disloyal subversion.

Without exhaustive debate—even heated debate—of ideas and programs, free government would weaken and wither. But if we allow ourselves to be persuaded that every individual—or party—that takes issue with our own convictions is necessarily wicked or treasonous, then indeed we are approaching the end of freedom's road. We must unitedly and intelligently support the principles of Americanism.

Effective support of principles, like success in battle, requires calm and clear judgment, courage, faith, fortitude. Our dedication to truth and freedom, at home and abroad, does not require—and cannot tolerate—fear, threat, hysteria, and intimidation.

As we preach freedom to others, so we should practice it among ourselves. Then, strong in our own integrity, we will be continuing the revolutionary march of the founding fathers.

As they roused in mankind the determination to win political freedom from dynastic tyranny we can ignite in mankind the will to win intellectual freedom from the false propaganda and enforced ignorance of Communist tyranny. Through knowledge and understanding, we will drive from the temple of freedom all who seek to establish over us thought control—whether they be agents of a foreign state or demagogues thirsting for personal power and public notice.

Truth can make men free! And where men are free to plan their lives, to govern themselves, to know the truth, and to understand their fellow men, we believe that there also is the will to live at peace.

Here, then, in spite of A-bombs, H-bombs, and the cruel destructiveness of modern war; in spite of terror, subversion, propaganda, and bribery, we see the key to peace. That key is knowledge and understanding—and their constant use by men everywhere.

Today, of course, we must have infantry—airplanes and ships and artillery. Only so can we be sure of a tomorrow and the opportunity to continue the mobilization of spiritual and intellectual energies. But there is no time to waste if truth is to win the war for the minds of men! Here is the unending mission of the university—indeed of every educational institution of the free world—to find and spread the truth!

We send professors, scholars, and students to the schools of the free world, to promote understanding of us even as they grow in knowledge and in understanding of others. This practice must be accelerated.

We find room in our own schools for tens of thousands of young men and women from other lands who within the American community learn the truth about us and give understanding of the truth to their own people. This effort must be expanded.

The purposes of the free world must not be limited! Our goal is not merely to react against inroads of Communist lies and attacks. That would be endless and profitless; the tactics of falsehood are limitless. We must join with our friends in a crusade of truth. We must make our aim the building of peace in justice and freedom. That is a worthy objective and a golden reward. Under God, the united energies of free people can attain it.

"The prospect now before us in America," wrote John Adams in 1765, "ought to engage the attention of every man of learning to matters of power and of right, that we may be neither led nor driven blindfolded to irretrievable destruction." And he ended by saying, "Let every sluice of knowledge be opened and set aflowing."

Tonight I think it fitting to repeat John Adams' exhortation, confident that, prompted by reason and armored by faith, we shall speed the advance of knowledge and liberty on their hand-in-hand journey along the avenue of the ages.

Global Relations of the United States

by S. Whittemore Boggs

Even the colonial beginnings of the United States may be regarded as dimly prophetic of the worldwide relationships of the present time. Edmund Burke, in his famous speech on conciliation with the Colonies, paid eloquent tribute to the hardihood and skill of the colonial American whalers; and the whale fisheries of the world became predominantly American for decades, well into the 19th century. The American Declaration of Independence expressed "a decent respect to the opinions of mankind." The American flag first appeared at Canton, China, in 1784, and Antarctic sealskins came to be important in the "China trade" a little later.

But beginning with the turn of the 20th century, there came a great change in the external relations of the United States. They have attained truly global proportions—in economics, international politics, and cultural relations. No head-in-the-sand psychosis, no delirium of chauvinism, can eradicate the fact that the United States has unwittingly and ineradicably achieved global relations. Today there is not a cranny of the globe that is not good for a headline even in a smalltown newspaper in the United States, if there is a news item sufficiently lurid or frightening or appealing to our sympathies. While some persons, if it were possible, would probably roll up the oceans, build a high wall around our borders, or secede from the earth, even such extremists would not deny themselves the use of an automobile or a radio simply because it incorporates many materials which can be obtained most economically only from other continents or distant islands—tin for solder, aluminum, manganese, rubber, vanadium, and scores of other items. A brief article, even if devoted solely to the worldwide economic relations of the United States, could scarcely do full justice to that single phase of our global relations.

All of the earth's nearly 2,500 million human inhabitants now live in a world of continually expanding relationships. Our fascinating little

earth seems to be a "rapidly shrinking world" only because of the ever geographically widening outreach of communications, transport, and travel available to individual human beings and societies—which is the truly significant factor. These new powers do not solve world problems; they ameliorate a few, create new ones, and aggravate others. We recall the story of "Benny and the Bird-dogs" by Marjorie Kinnan Rawlings: "Now putting an automobile under Uncle Benny was like putting wings on a wild-cat—it just opened up new territory."

Roadblock To Understanding Global Relations

A serious roadblock to understanding the new global relations of the United States is misconception of simple geographical relationships. This is in large part due to widespread use of Mercator and some of the other world maps in school textbooks, newspapers, and now even on television. It is disconcerting to discover how many people are quite oblivious to the characteristics of the maps they use. And among those whose job it is to prepare maps—seldom geographers or cartographers—few have an adequate knowledge of map projections and of the properties of the maps they make with which to convey basic information. The Mercator is used more frequently than all other projections put together, and almost never does one see an equal-area projection. The fact that the world is round is taught, I suppose, in all American schools. And most people have been told that a great circle is the shortest route between two points on earth.

The fact that, between any two given points on the earth, the "great circle route" is shorter than any "small circle route" is illustrated by the following problem: A man has a gun that will shoot only 30 rods; he sees, shoots, and kills a bear that is 40 rods due east of him. How do you account for it? And what is the color of the bear?

The answer, of course, is that the man and the white polar bear are standing on meridians which are 180° apart, so that they are diametrically opposite across the North Pole, and that both are 12.73 rods from the pole. The "small circle" parallel of latitude on which both man and bear are located therefore has a circumference of 80 rods; and the bear is both 40 rods due east and 40 rods due west of the man (figure 1).

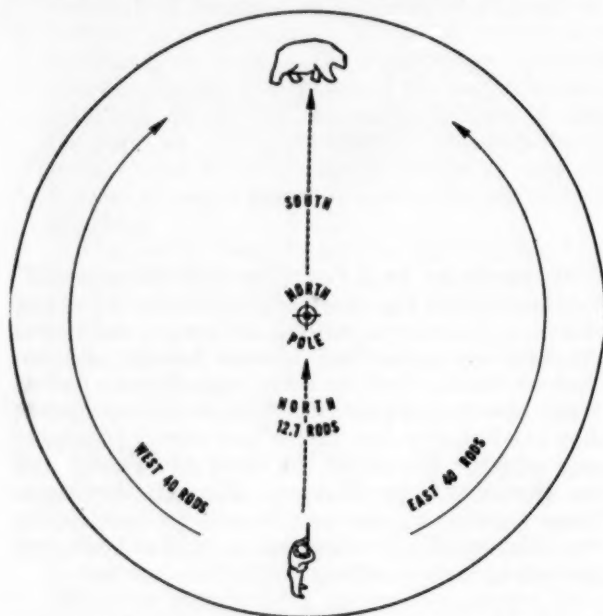


Figure 1. Man shooting polar bear 40 rods due east of him

The diameter, 25.46 rods, which is a meridian and therefore a great circle, is less than the 40-rod semicircumference of a "small circle," which is, of course, a parallel of latitude. The bear is thus both 40 rods due east and 40 rods due west of the man, but only 25.46 rods north and south from the man—across the North Pole.

Very few people know what a series of great circle routes looks like on a Mercator or any other map (figure 2). Certainly from the maps they use (always flat) they don't almost instinctively visualize world relationships as they exist on the round world we live on.

It would be surprising if a few of the facts which are presented below do not surprise even some professional geographers. Misconceptions of the shape and size of the territory of the Soviet Union, for example, are among the most widely entertained. How many realize that the distance east-west across Africa, from Dakar to Cape Guardafui, is almost the same as the distance from Odessa, on the Black Sea, near the southwestern corner of the U.S.S.R., to Bering Strait and that the great circle between those two Russian points passes between Moscow and Leningrad and between Murmansk and Arkhangelsk and within five degrees of the North Pole?

People in the United States think of Buenos Aires and Montevideo as being in "this hemi-

sphere" and therefore relatively near, but seldom realize that those two South American cities are as far from Washington, D. C., as are Istanbul, Turkey; Igarka, U.S.S.R., in Siberia (on the Yenesei River); and the westernmost of the Aleutian Islands. Santiago, Chile, is farther from Washington than is Moscow. Mexico City is nearer Washington by nearly 500 statute miles than is Los Angeles, Calif.

A good corrective of American geographical ideas is "World View and Strategy" by Richard E. Harrison and Hans W. Weigert in *Compass of the World*. Professor Halford J. Mackinder, busy "setting up the teaching of political and historical geography at the universities of Oxford and London," and "noting current events with a teacher's eye for generalization," presented his paper that later became famous, "The Geographical Pivot of History," in January 1904. His most important map, called "The Natural Seats of

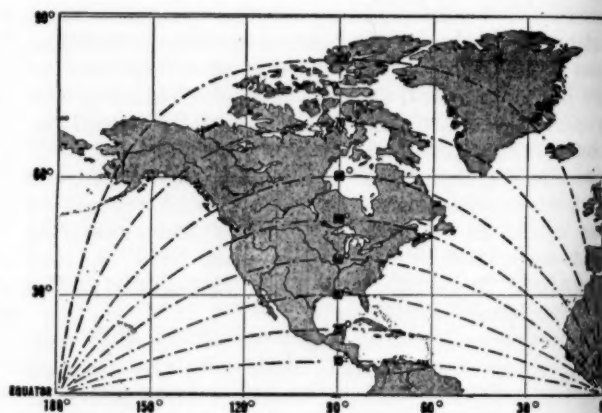


Figure 2. A family of great circles on a Mercator-type map

This is part of a series of great circle routes plotted on a Miller cylindrical projection—which is a mathematical modification of a Mercator projection, placing the parallels of latitude closer together, and bringing the geographical poles within a finite distance of the equator. Only the northern half of the so-called Western Hemisphere is shown above. If continued around the world each of these great circles would constitute a mirror image in the southern half of the Eastern Hemisphere, likewise terminating at 0° latitude, 180° longitude.

When an extensive series of such great circle courses is printed on transparent plastic it may be moved to the right or left on the map (keeping the equators of map and diagram always together), so as to bring any two points on the earth's surface onto one of these curves—or on a curve readily interpolated between two that are printed. The great circle course and approximate distance between any two points may thus be readily determined.

A map of the world, equatorial scale 1:30,000,000, approximately 57 x 35 inches, with relief in color, and with a series of 80 complete great circle courses similar to those illustrated above printed on the back, was prepared for the Department of State by the American Geographical Society. Copies may be purchased from that Society, Broadway at 156th Street, New York 32, N. Y., for \$1 folded, or \$2.50 in a mailing tube; but the order should specify that a copy of the map with a "great circle nomograph" on the back is desired.

Power," was on the Mercator projection, but without parallels and meridians, and limited by an ellipse. Weigert, analyzing Mackinder's reappraisal in his paper on "The Round World and the Winning of the Peace,"¹ remarks "... from Mercator he turns to the globe," but he also pointed out that "The great circle which Mackinder describes does not in fact cut the coast of France but passes to the north of Greenland. Thus he showed himself to be an unwitting prisoner of Mercator."²

One of the best correctives of geographical misconceptions, in my opinion, is the article entitled "The Myth of the Continents" by Eugene Staley, an economist, in *Foreign Affairs* in 1941. He points out that so-called "continental solidarity" is largely a figure of speech and that the oceans tend to unify more than the continents.³

We need to realize that most world maps constitute merely a conventional device for portraying geographical distributions as they are found at different latitudes and longitudes. There is no magic means of transferring to a globe the concepts conveyed by maps. The most effective means I know of for visualizing the peculiar properties of various map projections is to substitute a human head for the geographical globe as seen in the photographs in figure 3. The eyes are on the equator; the center of the nose is on the Greenwich meridian; the circular cap is much easier to copy than hair. This human head has been transferred to a number of the most widely used map projections, as if the eyes, nose, mouth, ears, chin, and cap were land masses. Here are shown (figure 4) the results of mapping the world on familiar projections. Such "maps" are, in a sense, caricatures of the human head represented and could scarcely serve to identify the contestants in a beauty contest or to record the faces in a rogues' gallery.

Maps centered at the North Pole are sometimes presented as if they were a new idea that readily corrects the misconceptions derived from Mercator and other maps. Actually such maps have been made for several centuries. To visualize some polar geography, we have here a map of that part of the northern hemisphere north of 30° north latitude, drawn on a gnomonic or great circle projection, centered at the North Pole (figure 5). Every straight line on any gnomonic projection describes a great circle course. Consider the advantages of commercial aviation at Thule, Greenland, if and when it becomes possible. Nothing would better illustrate the new relations of the United States. I spent the last 4 days of April 1953 at the great Thule Air Force

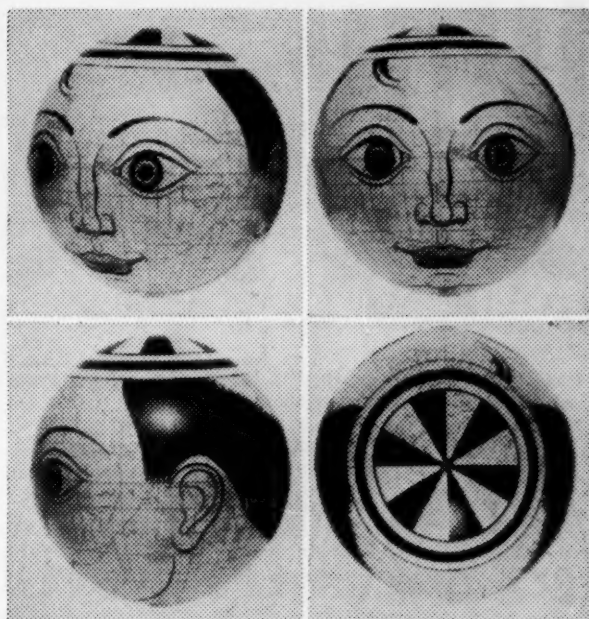


Figure 3. Human head on a geographical globe

This head of a man was drawn upon a geographical globe by the artist, Boris Artzybasheff. The nose is centered on the Greenwich meridian, and the eyes are on the equator. This was made to facilitate graphic studies of the properties of world maps on various map projections.

Base, near 76°30' north latitude, 69° west longitude. Located within 810 nautical miles of the North Pole, about 2,250 nautical miles from Washington, and 2,400 nautical miles from Moscow, Thule is open to supply by steamships for about 70 days each summer—when all possible supplies for the year are transported and stored. Since it lies 10° north of the Arctic Circle and therefore much farther north than North Cape, Norway, or Point Barrow, Alaska, commercial air passengers could stop off at Thule between flights and enjoy the "midnight sun"—continuously above the horizon during about 4 months (April 23 to August 21); for only about 98 days (November 4 to February 11) is the sun continuously below the horizon. Air routes between many northern hemisphere cities will eventually be established that will traverse at least short stretches of the Arctic Sea. Thule will be found near the great circle routes connecting northern and eastern Europe with central and western North America—which should carry heavy air traffic.

United States Hemispheres

But the world is round any way you look at it. Viewed from a spaceship, say from 10 million miles away in any direction whatever, practically a full hemisphere would be seen, bounded by a circle. The number of hemispheres is therefore

¹ Published in *Foreign Affairs*, July 1943, p. 595; and, in slightly different form, in *Compass of the World*, 1944, p. 161.

² *New Compass of the World*, pp. 87, 88.

³ *Compass of the World*, pp. 89-108.

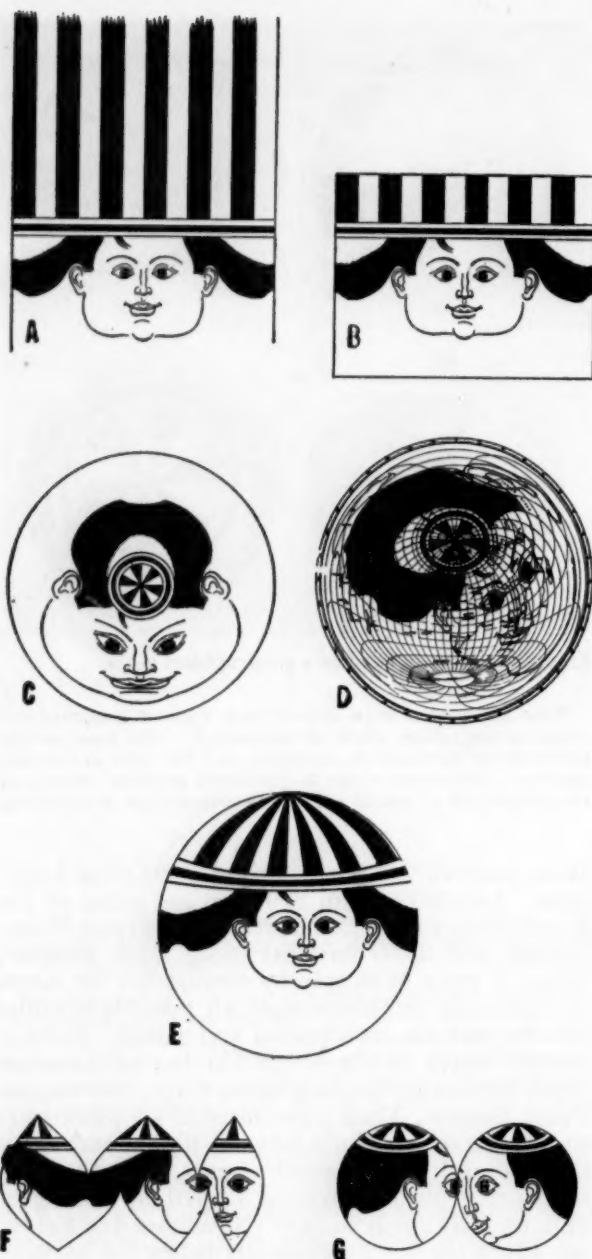


Figure 4. Human head on seven well-known map projections

The man's head shown in figure 3 is here presented on the following well-known map projections, as if the nose, eyes, mouth, ears, chin, and cap were land masses: (a) Mercator projection (because the North and South Poles are at infinity they cannot be shown on such a map); (b) Miller cylindrical projection, a mathematical modification of the Mercator, with all parallels of latitude closer together than on Mercator, and with both geographical poles represented by straight lines as long as the equator; (c) polar equidistant, the center of construction being at the North Pole in this instance; (d) azimuthal equidistant, the center of the projection being at Washington, D. C.; (e) Van der Grinten projection; (f) sinusoidal equal-area projection, as sometimes interrupted to avoid breaking the continents; and (g) two azimuthal equal-area projection hemispheres.

infinite. For Americans it is particularly illuminating to consider a few of the hemispheres which include all of the United States. I undertook something of this sort in 1945 in a paper entitled "This Hemisphere".⁴ The map illustrations used with the present article are, with two exceptions, different.

As a background for consideration of most of the maps appearing with this article, consider the seven major "culture worlds" that have been so well defined by Russell and Kniffen, here outlined on a map of world population distribution on an equal-area projection (figure 6). Within the last year all of these seven "culture worlds" except the Polar world have been the scenes of special missions of Secretary Dulles, Vice President Nixon, or Milton Eisenhower. In five of these culture regions international conferences have been attended by official delegates of the United States within the last year. Dr. F. S. C. Northrup, in his recent book, *The Taming of the Nations: A Study of the Cultural Bases of International Policy*, develops the significance of these culture regions in the constructive evolution of international relations.

So-Called Western Hemisphere

Americans sometimes speak as if the one hemisphere in which the United States is located is the so-called Western Hemisphere.

The line separating the mapmaker's conventional Western and Eastern Hemispheres is the pair of meridians 20° west and 160° east of Greenwich. This line is wholly lacking in geographical significance (figure 7).

It seems appropriate here to speak of the unplanned development of our regional terminology. For several years I have been suggesting the de-Europeanization of our terminology relating to major geographical regions and its universalization instead. It is time to be done with "western" and "eastern hemispheres" and the rest and to begin employing terms that are objective and fully acceptable to the people living in the areas concerned. Perhaps "the American hemisphere" should be acceptable for the American continents and islands, including Greenland, although the Americas support only about 13 percent of the world's population on 30 percent of its land area. "Middle West" relating to the middle western United States is, of course, not objectionable, but I can think of no orientation of the globe that justifies the terms "Middle East" and "Far East." "Eastern Asia," "Southern" or "South Asia," "south central Pacific," and similar terms are, in my opinion, preferable from every standpoint. Incidentally, the adjective and noun "Asiatic"

⁴ BULLETIN of May 6, 1945, p. 845; reprinted in *Journal of Geography*, Dec. 1945, p. 347, and in *Foundations of National Power*, edited by Harold and Margaret Sprout, p. 607.

shot 1 be replaced by "Asian," which is analogous to American, African, European, Eurasian, and Australian.

Panamá-Tokyo Hemisphere

The hemisphere shown at the left in figure 8 is centered midway between the city of Panamá and Tokyo (two Pacific ports) on the connecting great circle route of 7,320 geographical or nautical miles. Traveling by air from Panamá, one crosses the Caribbean Sea, Yucatán, the Gulf of Mexico, the United States (passing near Galveston and Salt Lake City), covering 43 percent of the total distance before reaching the Pacific Ocean near the mouth of the Columbia River; then across the north Pacific and over the Aleutians, crossing the southern part of the Bering Sea and passing within 400 miles of Kamchatka before reaching Tokyo. The white ocean area on the Miller cylindrical map at the right is the same hemisphere with the same Panamá-Tokyo great circle route appearing as a curve. Of the seven Russell-Kniffen "culture worlds," this hemisphere embraces much of the American and the Oriental, all of the Polar culture world, and some of the European.

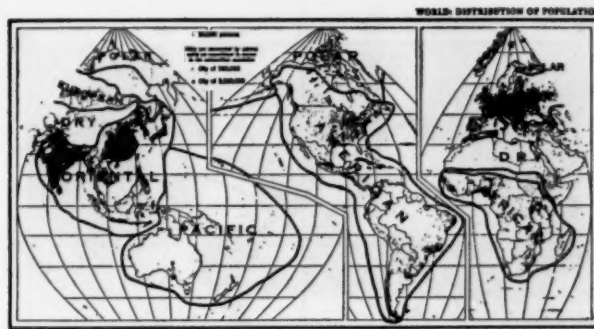


Figure 6. The seven major "culture worlds" of Russell and Kniffen, superposed on a world population map on an equal-area projection, each small dot representing 50,000 people

These "culture worlds" are: (1) Polar world; (2) European world not part of Asia; (3) Dry world, both hot and cold deserts; (4) African world south of the Sahara; (5) Oriental world; (6) American world; and (7) Pacific world. The "transition zones" are not represented in detail on this map. In describing nearly all the maps that follow, the inclusion or the exclusion of these "culture worlds" is mentioned.

Moscow-Centered Hemisphere

It may seem odd to include the hemisphere centered at Moscow (figure 9) among the hemispheres including all the United States. But it does barely include San Diego, Calif. And it includes, as may be noted on this pair of maps, all of Africa and Asia, a northeastern fringe of South America, and much of Indonesia. It therefore embraces the larger part of the world's population and all or much of the larger part of all the seven "culture worlds" except Latin America and the Pacific.

A North Atlantic Hemisphere

This hemisphere (figure 10) barely includes all of North and South America on its western edge—Cape Horn and the easternmost Aleutian Islands. Its center proved to be in the north Atlantic, at 28° N. and 31° W., and a great circle through that point somewhat east of South America passes between Greenland and Iceland. The western half of this hemisphere (a mere quarter sphere) thus embraces all of the land in the so-called Western Hemisphere, while the eastern half includes all of Europe and Africa (with most of Madagascar) and more than 40 percent of the area of Asia. Of the seven "culture worlds," only the larger part of the "Oriental" and all of the "Pacific" are lacking. Somewhat more about this interesting hemisphere was presented in my earlier paper referred to.



Figure 5. Part of the Northern Hemisphere

That part of the Northern Hemisphere which is north of 30° north latitude (approximately the latitude of New Orleans, La., of Cairo, Egypt, and of Lhasa, Tibet) is here mapped on a gnomonic or great circle projection, centered at the North Pole. On this projection, all great circle routes are straight lines, and all straight lines trace great circle routes between all points on those lines. The linear scale increases rapidly outward from the center of the projection.

Note how many straight lines connecting points named on the map cross the Arctic Ocean. Also note the advantages of Thule, in Northwestern Greenland, in relation to many of these cities.

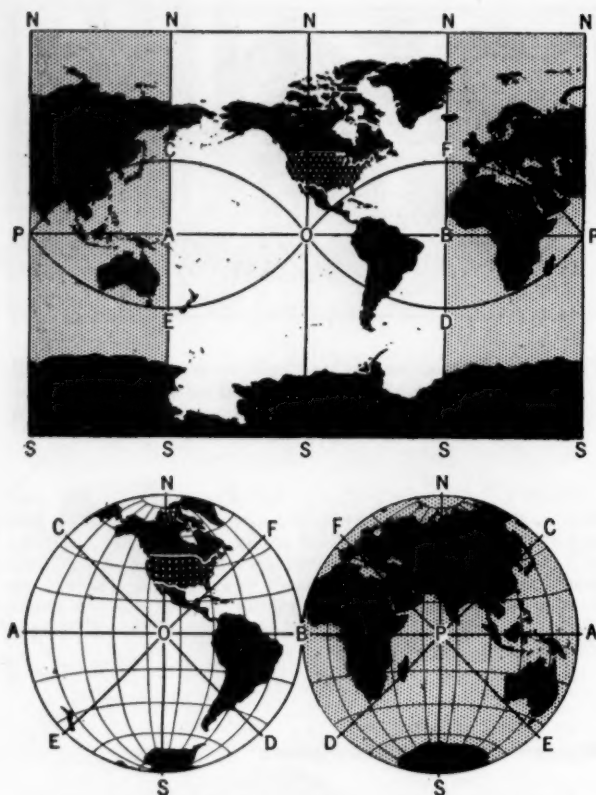


Figure 7. The map-maker's conventional Western and Eastern Hemispheres

The usual line of separation is the pair of meridians 20° west and 160° east of Greenwich. The white-ocean hemisphere at the bottom on the left, and in the center of the world map on the Miller cylindrical projection map at the top, is the conventional Western Hemisphere, and the other is the equally conventional Eastern Hemisphere. The map at the top shows that this Western Hemisphere is exactly as much east as it is west of the Eastern Hemisphere. The letters N and S are at the north and south geographical poles. The letters A to F inclusive are at identical points on all three maps, and the curved lines on the Miller map are identical with the corresponding straight lines (great circles) on the two circular hemisphere maps. O is the center of the Western Hemisphere and P is the center of the Eastern Hemisphere.

Sum Total of All U.S. Hemispheres

If a transparent plastic hemisphere be so placed on a globe that it just covers the United States and touches at the northernmost points of Washington and Maine, it will cover the hemisphere shown at the left in figure 11, which includes Antarctica and southeastern Australia, as well as South America and major parts of the Atlantic, Pacific, and Indian Oceans.

A series of four or more similar hemispheres may be mapped, tangent successively at the outermost points of Maine and Florida, Florida and Texas, Texas and California, and finally the Pa-

cific coast of the United States. The results are represented on the world map on the Briesemanter elliptical equal-area projection (figure 12). Four of the tangent great circles that limit the hemispheres embracing all of the United States are shown, each in a distinctive line symbol completely encircling the earth. These include the tangent lines AB, BC, DE, and EA (omitting CD). These great circles, tangent to the inverted outline mirror image of the United States in the Indian Ocean, outline the only part of the earth no part of which can be included in a hemisphere which embraces the whole of so-called continents. United States (the 48 States and the District of Columbia). The largest bit of land within the most remote area is desolate Kerguelen Island of interest today only in weather reporting. Therefore, if someone speaks of "this hemisphere" as the hemisphere in which the United States is located, it is relevant to ask "Which hemisphere?"

Thus there is no human being anywhere on earth who does not live in some hemisphere that includes all of the United States. This brings to mind Edwin Markham's quatrain entitled "Outwitted":

He drew a circle that shut me out—
Heretic, rebel, a thing to flout;
But Love and I had the wit to win;
We drew a circle that took him in.

The peoples of every "culture world" are therefore geographically nearer to the United States than most of us realize—none so remote that they do not live in what we might call "an American hemisphere." The peoples of each of these cultures take natural pride in their own distinctive way of life, in their religious faith and philosophy, and in the community of their social institutions. They do not wish to be indiscriminately mixed with all the other peoples of the world, as we now homogenize milk, because each regards itself in some cherished way as the cream of all the world's

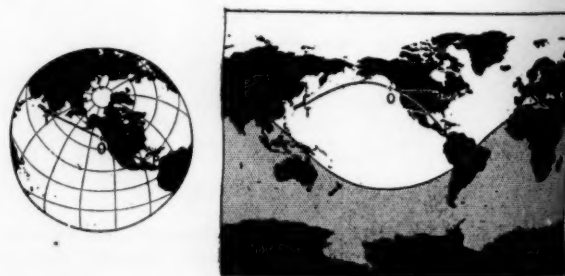


Figure 8. Panamá-Tokyo hemisphere

The point O at the center of the hemisphere map on the left is the point midway on the great circle between Panamá and Tokyo, which is the straight line P-T on this map, about 7,320 geographical or nautical miles in length. The white-ocean area on the Miller map at the right is the same hemisphere, and the curve P-O-T is the same great circle course.

sults and peoples. At least the Asian peoples of India, China, and Japan are pardonably proud of the fact that their forefathers were civilized when the ancestors of the more aggressive peoples now living in northern Europe and the United States were wearing animal skins.

The librarian of a New Hampshire public library, responding to a questionnaire regarding the use of globes, replied "If people in general do not begin to think in terms of the world as a whole, they are probably doomed." I heartily agree.

It is well to recall the words of Professor MacKinder, in his famous 1904 address: "... we shall again have to deal with a closed political system, and nonetheless that it will be one of worldwide scope. Every explosion of social forces, instead of being dissipated in a surrounding circuit of unknown space and barbaric chaos, will be sharply echoed from the far side of the globe, and weak elements in the political and economic organism of the world will be shattered in consequence."⁵

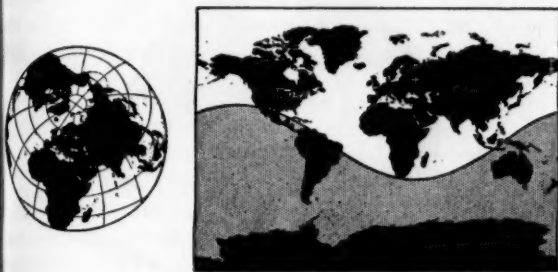


Figure 9. Moscow-centered hemisphere

The hemisphere centered at Moscow, U.S.S.R., is the white-ocean hemisphere on the left. The small white cross on both maps is Moscow. It includes most of North America, all of Africa and Asia, and much of Indonesia—and thus most of the world's population.

The roundness of the earth is very real in human relations. A globe is not merely an ornament nor a backdrop for photographs. The stamp of the earth's sphericity is evident in all of the world patterns that have yet been perceived in the geographical, biogeographic, and social sciences, all of them hugging closely to the roundness of the earth. Consider the orogenic (mountain-building) patterns and earthquake zones, the currents of air (both surface and upper air), and all the other phenomena of world weather, the ocean currents, man's routes of travel by air and sea, and his telecommunication patterns. In the writer's opinion, the time has come to study logistics seriously on the spherical surface of the globe: cost-distances and time-distances by sea routes and land routes versus air routes, and communications of all sorts. Eventually even the patterns of man's political

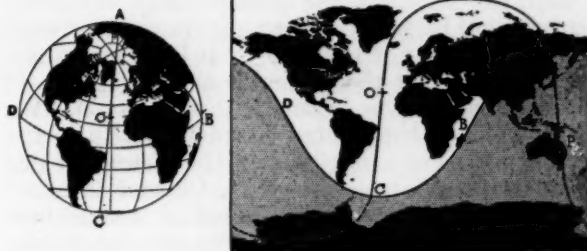


Figure 10. An important North Atlantic hemisphere

The straight line AOC through the center point (about 28° N., 51° W.) divides this North Atlantic hemisphere into quarter-spheres. The western quarter-sphere thus contains all of North and South America, including Greenland, and a small portion of Siberia. The eastern quarter-sphere comprises all of Europe and Africa (including most of Madagascar) and more than 40 percent of the area of Asia. The limit of the hemisphere, ABCDA on both maps, in a complete great circle (like the equator or any meridian circle). The line AOC which divides it into halves is half of such a great circle, the other half of which is APC, the dotted line in the shaded half of the Miller map at the right.

institutions will probably develop, or be discovered already to bear, the unmistakable imprint of the global relations of all mankind.

The globality of relations of the United States is today measurably enhanced by the presence on our shores of the United Nations. As we recall the fears of many of our forefathers concerning the adoption of the Constitution of the United States of America in 1787-88, we realize how they parallel some of the fears voiced in our own time. They could not imagine, 166 years ago, how peoples so diverse as those of our original Thirteen States, separated from one another by weeks of the most arduous travel, could ever become an integrated nation. Patrick Henry, frightened by the language of the preamble, demanded "what right they had to say, *We the people of the United States*, instead of *We the States*, in order to form a more perfect Union . . ." In replying to Madison, Patrick Henry said "I see the awful immensity of the dangers with which it is pregnant. I see it. I feel it. . . . Its adoption may involve the misery of the other hemispheres" (note the plural "hemispheres"). "The district, . . . 'this ten miles square,'" said George Mason of Virginia, "may set at defiance the laws of the surrounding states . . . and may . . . become the sanctuary of the blackest crimes." Benjamin Franklin could say only "I consent, Sir, to this Constitution because I expect no better, and because I am not sure that it is not the best." Writing in the hindsight wisdom of our generation, Carl Van Doren observed "Those who believed were more right than those who doubted."⁶

⁵ *Geographical Journal*, vol. 23, Apr. 1904, p. 422.

⁶ *The Great Rehearsal*, p. 251.

And in our own day it is clear that many problems cannot be solved by any nation alone or even by small groups of nations. It is by a significant act of faith that the preamble of the charter of the United Nations begins with the words, "We the peoples of the United Nations"—faith in the lessons of history, not least in the history of our own United States. The U.N. Charter is based not on an ideology such as dialectical materialism but on the grim determination "to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war," whose engines of destruction have since become more awful than their scientist designers intended or expected. From the viewpoint of political science I suppose the U.N. structure is sound in its flexibility and in the inclusion of specialized agencies created to deal with critical problems in food and agriculture, world health, meteorology, civil aviation, labor, trade, telecommunications, and the like. It seems relevant to recall that "Ideologies divide; projects unite." The exploitability of the divisiveness of ideologies is now apparent. The cohesive property of projects is increasingly manifest in the operations of multinational staffs of the United Nations and several of the specialized agencies, as in increasing and improving food production, health and sanitation programs, and technical assistance in underdeveloped areas.

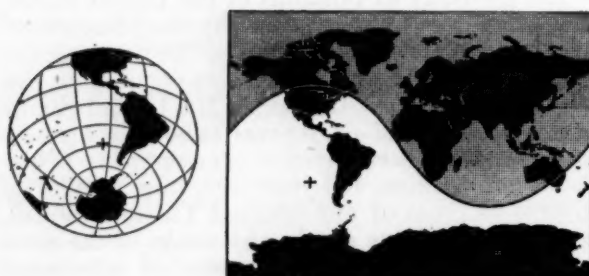


Figure 11. Hemisphere with the northern limits of the United States at its edge

This hemisphere, which has the corners of Maine and the State of Washington at its northern edge, is centered near 38° S., 98° W., in the South Pacific. It includes a very narrow strip of Canada, all of Mexico, Central America and South America and Antarctica, and the more densely populated part of Australia. The white-ocean area on the Miller projection map at the right delineates the same hemisphere.

If Haushofer and Hitler or the Japanese military strategists ever made intelligent use of globes, I have never been able to discover it. What they might have done or might have decided not to attempt, if they had visualized geographical relationships and situations more accurately, we can only guess. But it is clear that misconceptions of global relations, concerning which many people speak very glibly—on the part of men in high places either in this or almost any other large

country—can so distort, or in the past have so distorted, the facts of another nation's capabilities and intentions as to compromise peace or to start or lose wars. This is only one of the reasons why flat-map thinking about world relationships may be treacherously deceptive and politically and socially dangerous.

We cannot really comprehend many of our own national problems except in their true relationships to the whole. As a corollary it is the writer's conviction that:

He who would solve world problems must understand them;
He who would understand world problems must visualize them; and
He who would visualize world problems should study them on the spherical surface of a globe.

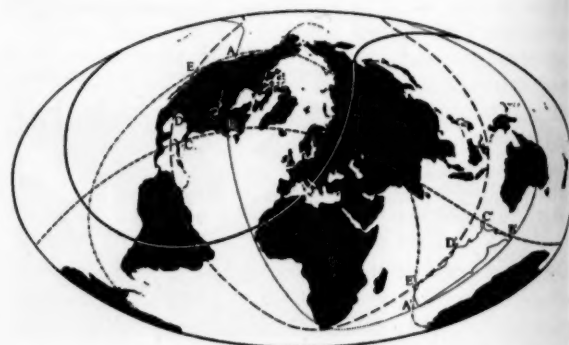


Figure 12. The sum of all hemispheres containing all of the United States

The sum of all hemispheres that include the entire United States is indicated in reverse on this world map on the Briesemeister equal-area projection, by bringing out the only area no part of which can be included in a hemisphere that embraces all of the 48 States and the District of Columbia.

The outermost points of the United States are marked by the letters A, B, C, D and E; and the points antipodal to them (as if one were to stick a hatpin five times through the center of the earth, coming out on the other side) are lettered A', B', C', D', and E'. The dotted line passing through A and B, across Canada and west of Africa and crossing Australia, is the great circle that outlines the hemisphere shown in figure 11. A series of hemispheres, each including all of the United States, can similarly be defined, bounded by the great circles passing through BC, CD (not shown), DE, and EA, which are shown on the map in distinctive dashed lines, each completely encircling the earth.

The only area which lies wholly outside all of these U.S. hemispheres is the area in the south Indian Ocean bounded by these curves, which are tangent to an inverted outline mirror image of the United States (which is therefore but little larger than the United States itself), and is therefore the only portion of the earth no part of which can be included in a hemisphere embracing the entire United States.

The continuous curve in a solid line is the line of the centers of all hemispheres which barely include all of the United States. Therefore any hemisphere centered at a point inside that curve will include the United States and somewhat more.

The obstacles to taking properly into account the rapidly changing relations between people on a worldwide scale are twofold: (1) political and institutional and (2) physical and technical.

Political and Institutional Roadblocks

It is not only the United States but also most of the other nations of the world that are experiencing global relations for the first time in their history. And the political and institutional difficulties in the way of each nation's adapting itself to the new worldwide relationships are very great. It is not people but the inadequacies of political institutions (dating, of course, from pre-atomic ages) that now constitute the chief roadblock to effective cooperation as world citizens, in the opinion of Maj. Gen. G. Brock Chisholm, well-known Canadian psychiatrist, who was until recently Director-General of the World Health Organization. He notes that there is need of flexibility to permit quicker and freer decisions in international affairs by heads of government, without danger to democratic processes. It may therefore be well to reexamine what ought to be done in the national interest to adapt each nation's institutions and procedures to the necessities of efficient operation on a worldwide scale. What national constitutions and legislative procedures, in fact, have yet been conceived with a view to assuring relatively prompt and responsible action in collaboration with the governments and peoples of other nations? Dr. Chisholm adds that there is a need of expert international civil servants, who should not sacrifice any of their national allegiance, and that their training is more exacting than that of domestic civil services.

Another serious roadblock to development of normal world relationships is widespread fear. It is no longer wild animals we fear but our fellow men—what they may do to us, what they think we think. There is xenophobia—fear and distrust of foreign peoples, ideas, and products. Men governed by fear become victims of a sort of “phobiocracy”—rule by fear and by “phobocrats.” Strangely, the fears among nations are greatest in those that possess the weirdest primordial cosmic powers of destruction of one another and of everything they cherish on earth.

It sometimes seems that vast new human energies would be released if we were to nourish faith in the integrity of the universe and its Creator, in the sound principles enunciated by our forefathers in each of our culture worlds, and in the ability and desire of many of our fellow men of all lands to rise above the inane excesses of nationalism that sometimes seem to threaten to engulf us all.

Physical and Technical Obstacles

Many physical and technical difficulties must be overcome before we can effectively and easily

visualize geographical relationships that can be perceived realistically only on globes. Mechanically it is easy to project pinpoints of light representing stars upon a planetarium dome and thus study the precession of the equinoxes, eclipses, and movements of the planet “wanderers” among the fixed stars. But it is much more difficult to project continuous coasts, rivers, and geographical distributions and to superpose one set of geographical data on another.

For example, there is thus far no practical means of presenting a globe, or of projecting onto a screen the appearance of a globe, with subject matter on it, in a lecture room or, what seems to be technically very different, on a television screen.

But the time must come, I believe, when anyone studying relationships, let us say, between two points 5,000 or more miles apart, or involving an area as large as one-tenth of the earth's surface, will normally turn to a globe supplemented by transparent measuring and comparing devices that will make it easier to use a globe than a map.

The writer's most useful present unofficial responsibility, in his own estimation, is serving as chairman of the National Research Council's “Committee on Construction and Use of Precise Globes and Spherical Maps,” which is working on a comprehensive program—thus far solely with government funds, but we hope later also with private funds, especially in the educational field.

Study of Techniques

The study of many categories of geographical phenomena on the global surface presents striking difficulties. Printing population distribution, cost- and time-distance data, and many other subjects on globe gores and mounting them on globes seems, at the moment, prohibitive in cost. Projection from lantern slides onto spherical surfaces may prove most economical but necessitates entirely new techniques involving special lenses and projection apparatus and perhaps projecting onto concave surfaces.

Research and development in problems of globe production include determination of means of making globes more accurate and uniform, of transparent materials best adapted for use as spherical overlays and means of imprinting geographical and geometrical patterns upon them, and means of projecting global distributions onto a dome analogous to a planetarium. The total cost may be several hundred thousand dollars.

In any event, a whole generation in all parts of the world should learn, soon, to think in truly “global” terms. Large as the earth may seem to us and complicated though its problems be, we dare not exclude any people or any region

from our thinking. Perhaps if the earth were as large as Jupiter (with about 120 times the surface area of the earth) we could protest with some reason that it was too much for human beings to comprehend. But we need to introduce each generation at a relatively early age to concepts of the world as a whole, to its "wholeness-properties," and to the fact that the whole is more than the sum of all its parts, as the body is more than a mere aggregation of organs and parts. A young generation has already begun to think in terms of subatomic particles (without having to unlearn anything) and knows that matter is not simply "solid, massy, hard, impenetrable, moveable particles," as defined by Sir Isaac Newton in 1707. They easily become accustomed to models of atoms, with nuclei comprising protons and neutrons and with electrons moving in planetary orbits. When children begin early to see and think in world terms, realistically related to the roundness of the earth, the solution of world problems will become tractable.

What a wonderful little celestial ball we live on! To millions of its human tenants it is "the good earth," to little tracts of which they are passionately attached. To its myriad indescribable beauties they are keenly sensitive—to visible beauties, only a small part of which have yet been caught in color photography, to its audible beauties, as in the tidal wave of birdsong that sweeps around the earth daily ahead of the sunrise. Sweeping along in its orbit around the sun at more than 18 miles per second (a velocity much exceeding the swiftest modern projectiles), yet stable enough for towering skyscrapers, it provides the stage upon which all natural and human history has been and is being played. With its flowers in crannied walls and light received from infinitely distant galaxies and island universes, it is tinged with mystery and wonder enough to entrance generations for all time to come. As we fit together all the bits of information we learn about atoms and stars and about the age of the universe and of the earth, we recall the Greek dictum, "That which is first as cause is last in discovery." And when we trace our geographical data on globes and part-globes, we shall probably realize that the world of human relationships, in which we are so intimately involved, is less simple than we sometimes assume and that there are global patterns in human affairs far greater than we yet perceive.

• *Mr. Boggs, author of the above article, is Special Adviser on Geography, Department of State. His article is based on an invited paper which he read before the 50th anniversary meeting of the Association of American Geographers at Philadelphia, Pa., on April 12.*

U.S., Turkey Discuss Matters of Common Interest

TEXT OF JOINT COMMUNIQUE¹

Press release 300 dated June 5

The Governments of the United States and Turkey wish to express their mutual satisfaction as a result of the visit of Prime Minister Adnan Menderes to Washington. It has provided a valuable opportunity for the Turkish Prime Minister to discuss thoroughly with President Eisenhower, Secretary of State Dulles, Secretary of Defense Wilson, Foa Director Stassen, and other high ranking United States officials matters of common interest to the two countries.

During his visit the Prime Minister also met with members of Congress who are active in committees concerned with foreign affairs. In such meetings Mr. Menderes engaged in a frank exchange of views and opinions relative to the common goals and interests of our two countries.

Further, the visit afforded an occasion for the Prime Minister to place before the United States Government a clear and forceful statement of Turkish policy to act as a convinced and determined member of NATO, to develop closer political and military ties with other friendly nations in the free world, in and out of NATO, and to support the mutual efforts of the United States and other free nations to organize for world security.

The official visit has also provided another opportunity for the United States Government to reaffirm its recognition of the fact that Turkey has assumed a defense posture which includes a modernized armed force and which places a heavy strain upon the resources of its country and people, and that substantial assistance from the United States and from other free nations who are in a position to render such assistance is necessary in order to permit the attainment of our common objectives for a collective defense. In this direction, the United States Government intends to continue to base its program of military assistance to the Republic of Turkey toward meeting the requirements of the NATO-approved Turkish force goals. In order to enable Turkey to meet the requirements of her armed forces under the above program during the coming year, the United States Government, subject to the action of Congress and a review of commitments and priorities, is disposed to increase its presently approved military assistance program. The United States Government is further prepared to accelerate deliveries of items in the present pipeline of roughly one-half billion dollars of military equipment.

¹ Issued at the conclusion of the visit to Washington of Adnan Menderes, Prime Minister of Turkey, June 1-5.

presently appropriated and programmed for Turkey.

In recognition of the fact that the support and maintenance of a large defense force will place a strain upon the Turkish economy which it cannot presently bear without external assistance and in further recognition of the fact that it is in our common interest that Turkey be placed in a position where it can support the needs of its military establishment and its economy through its own resources in the shortest possible time, the United States Executive Branch has requested the Congress for funds which would permit the furnishing of economic assistance to Turkey during the coming fiscal year.

Although it is impossible for the United States Government to make any commitments as to its intentions with respect to the furnishing of military or economic support assistance beyond Fiscal Year 1955, it has been agreed with the Republic of Turkey to continue the appraisal of Turkey's possible future needs and of the measures which may have to be taken by the Government of Turkey and the Government of the United States in the attainment of their common objectives.

Eric Johnston To Resume Talks on Jordan Valley Development

Press release 298 dated June 4

Ambassador Eric Johnston will leave for the Near East on June 10 to resume conversations with four Arab States and Israel regarding the development of the Jordan River Valley.

Mr. Johnston will meet with representatives of the Governments of Lebanon, Syria, Jordan, and Egypt in Cairo on June 12. Following these discussions he will proceed to Tel Aviv for similar meetings with representatives of the Government of Israel.

Both Israel and the interested Arab States have given Ambassador Johnston their comments on the broad program for Jordan Valley development proposed to them last November during Mr. Johnston's first visit to the area as the personal representative of President Eisenhower.

In addition, both the Arab States, acting as a group, and Israel have now submitted detailed engineering proposals of their own as to how the valley's water resources can be developed for irrigation and power. These proposals, together with those originally put forward by Ambassador Johnston, will form the basis of the forthcoming discussions at Cairo and Tel Aviv. Both plans represent considered study of the idea by experts over a period of some months and indicate a positive and constructive attitude toward the basic conception of comprehensive Valley development.

Ambassador Johnston's aim in the forthcoming talks in the area will be to define points of essential agreement and, insofar as possible, to narrow the differences on technical aspects of the irrigation and power project.

The Valley development program contemplates the construction of an integrated system of engineering works calculated to irrigate about 250,000 acres of land and develop more than 60,000 kw. of electricity for the benefit of the peoples of the countries having an interest in the waters of the Jordan basin. Among these would be a substantial number of Arab refugees from Palestine who have been on international relief rolls for about 6 years.

Mr. Johnston will be accompanied by staff advisers from the Department of State and the Foreign Operations Administration.

High Commission for Germany Establishes Patent Appeal Board

DEPARTMENT ANNOUNCEMENT

Press release 293 dated June 2

The Department of State has been informed that, effective April 18, the Allied High Commission for Germany has established a Patent Appeal Board under Allied High Commission Law No. 8, which was promulgated in the Federal Republic of Germany in October 1949. This law pertains to industrial, literary, and artistic property rights of foreign nations and foreign nationals which were impaired by the existence of a state of war or as the result of German wartime legislation.

The Patent Appeal Board has jurisdiction to hear and determine appeals to the Allied occupation authorities under Law No. 8. The Board consists of three members: the United States, British, and French High Commissioners each appoint one member. The United States member is S. Houston Lay, a member of the United States High Commission staff.

Appeals to the Board must be taken within a period of 6 months of the date of the decision complained of or within 6 months of the date of the establishment of the Board, whichever is later. Appeals are to be addressed to the General Secretariat of the Allied High Commission at Bonn/Mehlem, Germany.

The Board will function during the period pending the coming into force of the contractual agreements with the Federal Republic of Germany. At the time the contractual agreements be-

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come effective, the Board will be superseded by the Arbitral Commission on Property Rights and Interests in Germany as provided in the Convention on the Settlement of Matters Arising Out of the War and the Occupation.

TEXT OF REGULATION ESTABLISHING BOARD

The Council of the Allied High Commission issues the following Regulation:

Article 1

In implementation of Law No. 8 (Amended) there is hereby established a Patent Appeal Board, hereinafter referred to as "the Board".

Article 2

The Board shall hear and determine appeals to the Occupation Authorities under Law No. 8 (Amended). The Board shall also act in such other matters as may be delegated to it by the Allied High Commission.

Article 3

The seat of the Allied High Commission shall be that of the Board.

Article 4

- 1.—The Board shall consist of three members who shall have the qualifications required in their respective countries for appointment to judicial office or equivalent qualifications.
- 2.—Each High Commissioner shall appoint one member.

Article 5

All decisions of the Board shall be in the form of judgments or orders and shall be by majority vote. Judgments and orders of the Board shall be binding on all parties and shall not be subject to appeal.

Article 6

All questions of procedure shall be decided by the Board.

Article 7

The Allied General Secretariat shall act as the channel of communication between the Board and the German authorities or the parties.

Article 8

An appeal under Law No. 8 (Amended) may be taken to the Board:

- a) in the case of any decision rendered on or before the date of the coming into force of this Regulation, within six months of that date;
- b) in the case of any decision rendered after the date of the coming into force of this Regulation, within six months of the date of the decision.

Done at Bonn/Mehlem, on 3 April 1954.

By Order of the
Allied High Commission:
W. NEATE
Secretary General

Persecution of Jews in Rumania

Press release 294 dated June 3

Deputy Under Secretary Murphy on June 3 received a delegation from the American Jewish Committee for an exchange of views concerning the recent persecution of Jews in Rumania. Included in the delegation were Jacob Blaustein, Herman Gray, and Seymour Rubin. At the conclusion of the discussion Mr. Murphy made the following statement:

In recent months the Rumanian Communist regime has brought to trial and sentenced to long prison terms scores of Rumanian Jews. Many of these recently sentenced have been held in prison without trial for several years, their only crime being that the regime considers them undesirable. The fate of the victims of this widespread persecution is cause for deep concern on the part of the Department of State as well as the American Jewish Committee.

The conduct of the Rumanian Government in this instance is but one more example of its callous disregard for human rights and fundamental freedoms. In order to instill fear in the hearts of the 250,000 Jews in Rumania that Government has found it necessary to sentence leaders of the Jewish community so that they might be held as hostages. Such conduct is not only in violation of the provisions of the Treaty of Peace with Rumania but also ignores the dictates of justice and humanity.

I am deeply moved by the tragic plight of these unfortunate Jewish leaders and sympathize with the feelings expressed by members of the delegation from the American Jewish Committee.

New High Commissioner for Federation of Malaya

Press release 303 dated June 5

Secretary Dulles on June 5 issued the following statement on the occasion of the inauguration of Sir Donald McGillivray as High Commissioner for the Federation of Malaya to succeed General Sir Gerald Templer:

In the past 2 years, under the leadership of General Sir Gerald Templer, marked progress has been made in Malaya to halt Communist terrorism there and to build up a self-governing nation. It is with a sense of gratification that the peoples of the free world have watched the advance toward these goals.

In Malaya, as elsewhere, people have increasingly recognized communism for what it is—an attempt by force and subtlety to exploit their

aspirations and subjugate them to ruthless tyranny. Through the cooperation of the peoples of Malaya with the civil and military authorities, substantial progress has been made in countering this Communist threat. Indicative of the improving situation is the fact that almost one-fourth of the people of the Federation now live in areas where the elimination of Communist terrorism has permitted the resumption of normal living. With the steady improvement in the military situation, Malaya has taken substantial steps toward responsible self-government.

As the leadership of the Federation of Malaya passes from General Templer to the new High Commissioner, Sir Donald McGillivray, the United States welcomes Sir Donald's determination to continue pressing toward those goals to which the people of Malaya aspire. We will con-

tinue to follow with the greatest interest further progress toward the creation of a truly united and self-governing nation free from Communist terrorism.

By the suppression of Communist attempts to terrorize the people, Malaya will continue to play an important part in halting Communist aggression against the free world. By sound progress toward self-government based on cooperation among its racial groups, Malaya will attain a new maturity and strength over the years that will make it a valued member of the community of nations.

The American people, confident that continued progress will be made in the future under the leadership of the new High Commissioner, join the people of Malaya in looking forward to a realization of their goals.

The Korean People's Right to Unity and Independence

STATEMENT BY UNDER SECRETARY SMITH¹

During all these sessions on Korea the U.S. delegation has listened, at times with sincere admiration and at other times with profound misgivings, while on the one hand representatives of the free nations of Asia, Africa, Europe, and America have called for a constructive effort to unite this unhappy country, and on the other hand our Communist colleagues have denounced and distorted every ideal to which we subscribe and every democratic principle which we cherish.

The date of May 11, 1954, may stand out in the history of our times as an occasion of grave revelation. On that day, in this room, the Soviet Union through its delegate denounced the United Nations and characterized it as a belligerent institution, unworthy of confidence. That the representatives of the Chinese and North Korean Communist regimes reiterated this denunciation is regrettable but not surprising. Both have been declared aggressors by the United Nations.

Many words, good and bad, have been spoken here since this Conference met, but none have been clearer in intent or more serious in implication than the words of the delegate of the Soviet Union on the 11th of this month at the ninth plenary session on Korea. All of us who heard them re-

member, but I repeat them so we may focus on their meaning. He spoke as follows:

What conclusions can be drawn with regard to the United Nations Organization from the facts pertaining to the war in Korea? The conclusions are clear. As a result of a number of illegitimate actions on the part of the Security Council and the General Assembly, the United Nations Organization became a belligerent in Korea. In fact, the United Nations flag was used there only to cover up American aggression.

In the eyes of the peoples of the whole world, this turning of the United Nations Organization into a belligerent greatly diminished the prestige of this international organization. Under the circumstances, the United Nations Organization has deprived itself of the capacity to act as an impartial international body and can no longer carry out objective functions in the settlement of the Korean problem.

By the word "American" the Soviet delegate intended to designate the United States. It gives me satisfaction that there are two other nations from the Americas represented here—Canada and Colombia. They also sent their sons to Korea to defend the ideal that the United Nations flag is not a scrap of cloth. What the 16 nations here represented did in Korea, acting together under that flag, in accordance with resolutions of the United Nations, was done because of their common belief in deep-rooted moral principles for which men are willing to die. The United States is proud of its role in Korea and of its associates there. It believes that all people who long for a free and peaceful world take pride in the role of the United Nations in Korea. The blood of the

¹Made at the twelfth plenary session of the Geneva Conference on May 28.

young men of 16 nations was shed in Korea for the most noble of causes—to protect the weak from the strong and the predatory. Only if free men continue to be willing to band together for this high purpose can the peace in the free world be assured.

Soviet Rejection of Collective Security

What the Soviet Union, through its delegate, is telling the world from Geneva is that it rejects the principle of collective security, that it intends to do as it pleases without regard to truth or justice or peace—even without regard to the fundamental rights of humanity. It is as simple as that, and it should cause the majority of us to think and to draw closer together.

It is a strange phenomenon that we who came here to unite a divided and war-torn nation find ourselves defending the international system of security to which every one of the governments of the world, if it were truly representative of the wishes of its people, would be eager to contribute all possible moral and material support.

This system was established in 1945 at San Francisco. It is embodied in the United Nations Charter, to which the representative of the Soviet Union at this Conference affixed his own signature. That charter was, and still is, regarded by the vast majority of us as the world's best hope for peace.

One of the basic pledges in the United Nations Charter is the pledge to resist aggression. A specific case arose in June 1950, when armies from North Korea invaded the territory of the Republic of Korea, which had been formally recognized by the United Nations as the only legal government in Korea. The Security Council of the United Nations was promptly called into session. It called upon its members to act at once to repel this aggression.

The representative of the Soviet Union in the Security Council absented himself on the occasions of these historic decisions. The Soviet delegate has sought here, and not for the first time, to establish the theory that one absent member is more potent under law than ten who are present and who vote to take a united action.

If one absent member, through the mere circumstance of his absence, can render the operation of the principle of collective security null and void, or "illegal and shameful," to use the words of our Communist colleagues, the aggressor in Korea would have swept the entire country unimpeded—and all because the representative of the Soviet Union in the Security Council of the United Nations had gone for a walk. I am not attempting to be sarcastic. I am simply stating a fact.

We are presented here with the paradox that the Soviet Union, while denouncing the acts of the United Nations, insists nevertheless on exercising all the rights and privileges of a member

and, indeed, goes further by continuously using its veto to keep sovereign and independent and law-abiding nations from being admitted to membership in the United Nations. More than that, the Soviet Union has been insisting that the government in Peiping, so far lawless, shall be seated in the United Nations.

This brings to mind the circumstances that surround the presence here of the Chinese Communist representative. We cannot forget that in the autumn of 1950, when the armed forces of the United Nations had successfully repelled the aggressor armies of the North Korean faction, there came another aggression. At first it was insisted at Peiping that the well-organized and well-equipped armies from the mainland of China were merely "Chinese volunteers" and had no connection with the Peiping government.

Then the world was told after a few months that the government at Peiping acknowledged responsibility for the orders to the armies of Chinese soldiers in Korea. Today at this Conference in Geneva that same government, through its representative here, tells us that the United Nations has no right to see to it that the Chinese armies now occupying North Korea will not break the peace again. We are told also by the Soviet Government that the United Nations must not be permitted to supervise the elections proposed for all Korea. Why does the Soviet Government object so vigorously to the conduct of free elections under United Nations observation, and why did it object in May 1948 to the supervision by a United Nations commission of the elections in North Korea? Is the Soviet Government afraid of the votes of the people of Korea in a free, uncoerced election?

Now let us look at the record of the members of the United Nations who, faithful to the charter, sent their armed forces to Korea to repel aggression. They sent their troops thousands of miles away from home and they made sacrifices of almost 200,000 killed and wounded in order to support the principle of collective security as against aggression—the great objective of the United Nations Charter. They did this only in the interest of achieving peace against aggression. No more dramatic demonstration has ever been given to the world of the collective action of sovereign states in repelling aggression.

Yet after all this, we have been exposed to a brazen effort to distort the facts, a devious, if all too obvious, attempt to pervert an inspiring moral principle. But I will not dwell further on this point. The United States did not come to Geneva to lend itself to the destruction of the United Nations.

Here at Geneva we have been confronted by a new challenge to our wisdom, vision, and generosity. We have the opportunity to put aside suspicions and antagonisms in a united effort to allow the Korean people at long last to work out their national destiny. We have the opportunity to in-

spire the whole world with a new respect for the opinions of mankind and a renewed confidence in our only existing institution of international order and justice—the United Nations.

The majority of us came here in the hope that the question of Korean independence and unification would receive the careful, sympathetic attention at Geneva that it deserves. Sixteen of our delegations believe sincerely that the people of Korea, from the Yalu to the southern shores, are entitled to our most earnest efforts to give them independence and unity. They deserve better than to be made the subject of a propaganda campaign. Yet I grieve to say that this is what we have been witnessing.

If we did not understand the insidious strategy of communism, we would be surprised to find three peoples with such long and infinitely varied histories and cultures as North Korea, Russia, and Communist China suddenly appearing so identical on one side of this Conference. Their words and their actions are interchangeable.

And what have they put forward on Korea? After months of delay, this is what they tell us:

Rejection of U.N. Authority

They deny that the United Nations has any authority or moral force to deal with the problem of unification of Korea. They repudiate as shameful and illegal the United Nations resolutions on Korea. They reject any United Nations supervision in Korea. They reject overwhelming world opinion which looks to the United Nations as the one fundamental instrument for maintaining peace and security.

Thus they erect another Iron Curtain at Geneva designed to shut out any constructive effort by this Conference toward the attainment of its goals.

Then our Communist colleagues ask us to accept proposals for Korea's unification which would provide for elections "first on paper, last in practice, free in name but rigged in fact," as Mr. Eden put it so well. More than this, they have concocted an elaborate device which, when analyzed, is nothing more than the Soviet veto system, the paralytic effect of which the world has witnessed on so many previous occasions.

This formula would permit the imposed dictatorship of a minority of the Korean people still living in North Korea to obstruct forever the freely elected representatives of the great majority of the people in Korea. By this formula a regime which is shrouded in darkness would shackle a government whose legitimacy and representative character have been repeatedly recognized by the United Nations; and it would not even give the captive minority of Koreans a chance to speak for themselves in genuinely free elections open to the world to see.

As if all that were not sufficient, the Communists would have us agree in advance to tie our hands

and close our eyes while a divided Korea, quarantined from the rest of the world and isolated from the United Nations, is absorbed into the Communist orbit. A few days ago Secretary Dulles made this statement to the people of the United States—

More than 140,000 Americans were killed and wounded under the United Nations command to keep Korea from being overrun by armed invasion. I promise you that we shall not surrender at . . . Geneva the freedom for which so many fought and died.²

I must repeat, as the Netherlands Foreign Minister already has so convincingly pointed out, that ten members of the Security Council, in November 1950, affirmed the policy of the United Nations to hold the Chinese frontier with Korea inviolate, and fully to protect legitimate Chinese and Korean interests in the frontier zone. This would have produced a genuinely peaceful and united Korea if the Soviet Union had not vetoed the joint resolution, and if shortly thereafter the Chinese Communists had not invaded Korea in force across that frontier.

Despite all this, there is basis on which we can still build a new life for all the people of Korea. It is not too late to fulfill our objectives of establishing, by peaceful means, a united and independent Korea. All we need is the courage and will to accept, honestly, the reality of the principles that have been expressed in our meetings.

There must be a sincere effort toward moderation and a search for an accord, as so many representatives have urged.

There must be clearly reaffirmed our respect for the authority and moral force of the United Nations. This Conference can, if it so wills, declare an act of faith in the United Nations. The United States associates itself unreservedly with the support which the large majority of my colleagues here have expressed for the United Nations. It is the only instrument left to us for ridding the world of the scourge of war. It is a moral force for peace. It is the one remaining instrumentality for maintaining collective security. It will be a tragic day for all the people of the world if, as has been threatened here, the United Nations is discredited and condemned, if its resolutions are spurned as scraps of paper, and if the peoples of the world are cast adrift without this anchor in which they have placed their trust.

There must be recognition of the need to rely on the cooperation of the United Nations in helping the Korean people themselves to bridge the wide gulf which years of separation and war have created. This cooperation will not impair in any way the inherent right of the Korean people to make the decisions that affect their own destiny.

No lasting peace or security can come to the people of Korea unless their right to unity and independence is exercised in an atmosphere of

² BULLETIN of May 17, 1954, p. 740.

genuine freedom. They must not be coerced as they move through the process of establishing a united and independent nation.

Support for ROK Proposals

In the light of these sincere beliefs, the U.S. delegation has studied the proposals which the delegate of the Republic of Korea presented to us last Saturday. We find them clear, moderate, and reasonable. They are within the framework of the basic principles which the vast majority of us here have publicly endorsed. It seems to the U.S. delegation that these proposals represent an important and significant act of faith in the United Nations and in genuinely free elections. These are the proposals of a nation which conducts its elections under the observation of a United Nations commission, which has fought with enormous sacrifice and great bravery against aggression, and which has demonstrated its dedication to the principles of liberty and freedom.

The U.S. delegation supports the proposals of the Republic of Korea and recommends their acceptance.

TEXT OF SOUTH KOREAN PROPOSALS OF MAY 22

1. With a view to establishing a united, independent and democratic Korea, free elections shall be carried out under the United Nations' supervision in accordance with the previous United Nations resolutions there-anent.

2. The free elections shall be held in North Korea, which has not been accessible to such elections, and in South Korea also in accordance with the constitutional processes of the Republic of Korea.

3. The elections shall be held within six months from the adoption of this proposal.

4. Before, during and after the elections, the United Nations personnel connected with the supervision of the elections shall have full freedoms of movement, speech, etc., to observe and help create conditions of a free atmosphere throughout the entire area for election. Local authorities shall give them all possible facilities.

5. Before, during and after the elections, the candidates, their campaigners and their families shall enjoy full freedoms of movement, speech, etc., and other human rights such as are recognized and protected in democratic countries.

6. The elections shall be conducted on the basis of secret ballot and universal adult suffrage.

7. Representation in the all-Korea legislature shall be in direct proportion to the population of the entire Korea.

8. With a view to apportioning the numbers of representatives in exact proportion to populations in the election areas, census shall be taken under the United Nations' supervision.

9. The all-Korea legislature shall be convened in Seoul immediately after the elections.

10. The following questions, among others, shall be left to the enactments of the all-Korea legislature:

(a) Whether the President of unified Korea should be newly elected or not;

(b) Concerning amendments of the existing Constitution of the Republic of Korea;

(c) Concerning the disbandment of military units.

11. The existing Constitution of the Republic of Korea shall remain effective except as it may be amended by the all-Korea legislature.

12. The Chinese Communist troops shall complete their withdrawal from Korea one month in advance of the election date.

13. The phased withdrawal of the United Nations forces from Korea may start before the elections, but must not be completed before effective control over entire Korea be achieved by the unified government of Korea and certified by the United Nations.

14. The integrity and independence of the unified, independent and democratic Korea shall be guaranteed by the United Nations.

Mr. Yoshida's Trip Postponed

Press release 302 dated June 5

Prime Minister Yoshida of Japan has indefinitely postponed plans for a world trip, including a visit to the United States. An invitation to visit the United States was extended to the Prime Minister through Secretary Dulles last year and Mr. Yoshida had been tentatively scheduled to arrive in Washington on June 7.

The United States Government regrets that the Prime Minister's visit has been postponed but it is hoped that he will be able to come to this country at some later time. Such a visit would provide an opportunity to discuss matters of mutual interest to the United States and Japan and would contribute to the steadily increasing bonds of friendship between the people of the two countries.

Foreign Trade and Military Policy

by *H. Struve Hensel*

Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Affairs¹

Military considerations must be given more and more weight in the determination of our economic and foreign-trade policies. The external dangers and threats faced by this Nation are real. They will not go away when we close our eyes.

We can no longer retire behind two wide oceans and concentrate our attentions on our own resources and domestic capabilities. We are a part—although a very large part—of a turbulent globe. Our enemies have marshaled all their abilities—economic, military, political, and propaganda—in a cold-blooded effort to destroy us.

Since we are determined to survive, our "Number 1" resolution must be to use all our abilities in our own defense. And our foreign-trade policy can be turned to real account in this struggle.

The effect of military considerations on national trade policies is not a new idea. Our economists for many years have been willing to limit the rule of "maximum competition in the interests of greater over-all efficiency" to domestic trade. Free competition in international trade was considered idealistic but impractical. None of us were willing to risk militarily important industries for the sake of an economic theory. We were all willing to pay that hidden "sales tax" called a "protective tariff" in order to have our essential productive capacities under our own flag. As a result we have a solid and broad industrial base for our military strength. It is one of our major assets.

The principle of shaping trade policies to fit military needs is still sound. The military considerations have, however, changed. Some of the changes have escaped notice except in military circles. For instance, as Canada developed into an industrial nation, it was realized that Canadian production is almost as available to us as production in the continental United States. In fact production in Canada is perhaps more accessible than production under the American flag in Hawaii

or Alaska. Raw materials in Mexico and the Caribbean countries are practically a part of our domestic arsenal. Geographically they are nearby, and the lines of communication are relatively easy to keep open. We therefore have no military purpose in discouraging industrial growth in such countries. We have, on the contrary, sound military reasons to encourage such growth, and our trade policies should be adapted to achieve that end.

In World War II we made a more painful discovery about war and foreign trade. We learned that many of our domestic resources were insufficient for war requirements. The seemingly endless resources of the Mesabi range began to shrink. The demands upon our petroleum resources loomed larger and larger in proportion to our supply. We learned that many necessary products such as manganese, tungsten, tin, chrome, and even bauxite never existed in sufficient quantities within our own borders. We, the wealthiest nation, took a lesson from the squirrels and started a stockpile of strategic materials. We are still maintaining such a stockpile, and we are still aware of our dependence on outside sources for war materials.

So much for the lessons we have already learned. Unfortunately, the world never stands still. There are further modifications to be made in our traditional trade policies which are being dictated by military considerations.

Our Need for Allies

Today for military reasons, if for none other, we are moving toward freer international trade. That sounds like a contradiction, but it is not. The basic principle is the same. A new military need has come to the forefront. We need allies. The United States, in spite of our tremendous strength, cannot go it alone. This is no confession of weakness. It is a recognition of reality. The old delicate balances among many powers are gone. There are two camps—the free world and the Communists. In between these is a void. Our free world needs the collective and firmly united strength of all its members.

¹Excerpts from an address made before the American Law Institute, Washington, D. C., on May 21 (released to the press by the Department of Defense).

Furthermore, our free-world allies must be tied as closely as possible to us. The stronger our allies are economically and militarily the better. But of equal importance is that, weak or strong, those allies must be tied securely to us. And mutual trade on a two-way basis is the only effective way to attract and hold those allies. There is nothing charitable in this approach. It is based on cold-blooded self-interest.

We will never seize allies through the Russian method of military domination. The ancient method of ruling-family intermarriages is no longer fashionable or feasible. Gifts and loans are effective only as long as the money is being advanced. Once the time of repayment comes, divergent rather than mutual interests are created. Economic aid and military aid, whether in the form of grants or loans, were necessary to get our battered allies back on their feet. Beyond that they are not so effective. Furthermore, rich as we are, we cannot afford such lavishness for an indefinite period. We are not at the end of our ability in that respect. We are, however, definitely aware that there must be an end.

There is no closer bond among nations than the interrelation of economic interests. . . . No country is so blind that its foreign policy becomes insensitive to the trading interests of its people. Wars may start over conflicting economic interests, but alliances are cemented by mutual economic interests. The importance of mutual trade in cementing alliances should be obvious. Even our Communist enemies have harnessed their trade policies to their military and foreign policies. It is a miracle that here in the United States the close connection between trade and allied military strength has been so often missed.

There is only one caveat in this move toward freer mutual trade between us and our allies. We must not pursue mutual trade to the point that we injure our strong and vigorous domestic economy. The productive capacity of the United States is clearly one of the main pillars—if not the foundation—upon which the military and economic strength of the free world now rests and will rest for many years to come. That foundation cannot be shattered or seriously weakened. Consequently the only danger spot to watch is not to let a freer trade policy injure the basic economy and defense structures of the United States. That result will hurt us and our allies alike.

Trade and a Strong Domestic Economy

It is clearly possible to achieve both our objectives, mutual trade with our allies and an overall strong domestic economy. Our economy is not so frail that it will injure easily. We will not be able to please all of our allies all of the time. We will not be able to satisfy all of our industrialists all of the time. Increased international commerce will inconvenience—and perhaps hurt—some of

our industries. It will stimulate others. Our aim must be to maintain overall industrial strength rather than the status quo of each existing industry irrespective of its contribution to our military strength.

It is foolish to argue that the modification of existing restrictions on foreign trade can be accomplished without any domestic dislocations. Some industries owe their entire existence to trade barriers. To the extent that they are militarily essential, some restrictions will have to be maintained. To the extent that they are not essential, our attitude toward the trade barriers should be judged solely by the effect on our allies.

Obviously, substantial quantities of electrical equipment or cutlery cannot be imported without some market upset on the part of the domestic manufacturers of such electrical equipment or cutlery. Some individual firms, industries, and perhaps communities will find their paths more difficult with vigorous competition from abroad. Some upsets will be temporary, and other changes in our industrial pattern may well be more permanent. To refuse to recognize such probabilities would be foolish. Yet calamity does not lie ahead. The balance between our allies and basic industrial strength at home can be preserved. I believe that, if we face reality, we can, both nationally and privately, alleviate and overcome the effects of freer international trade.

Our industries are not without experience in meeting derangements. The advances in engineering, electrical, and mechanical developments have produced minor industrial revolutions in which whole industries have disappeared. Yet our overall economy has grown stronger. Our military potential has increased. The machine with its labor-expanding capabilities was fought for many years solely because of its dislocating effect on groups of workers and individual skills. Shifts in fuels—the simple changeover of a furnace from coal to oil—have produced industrial upsets of deep penetration. We cannot stop such changes. And we would not stop them if we could. We have surmounted those difficulties, and with patience and intelligence we can do so again.

It is hard to believe that the effects of freer international trade will be more revolutionary than the advent of the automobile. No national legislature rushed with sales taxes or tariffs to the protection of the bicycle or wagon industry. The transition from a protected economy to a freer economy, particularly when nationally assisted, should be simpler.

There is also a compensating factor in the expansion of international commerce. Other nations will become economically stronger. Such increased economic strength will bring higher standards of living in such foreign countries. The mass markets available to us and our allies will expand. New markets will open to our existing industries. New industries may be stimulated into being. If this trade pattern is followed through-

out the world, our economy should have a wider field for its efforts than ever before. Global markets might even replace domestic markets. In any event, the opportunities for overall expansion rather than contraction will be within the realms of probability and possibility.

I am, therefore, certain that our basic objectives—the firm attachment of allies through mutual trade and a strong domestic economy—are not inconsistent. I am equally confident that, unless the individual problems are tested by such guide-lines, we will end up in a hodgepodge of compromises and contradictions. What is worse, we will make bad mistakes.

Tariff levels, currency convertibility, guaran-

ties of foreign investments, "Buy American" restrictions, and that mysterious phenomenon called the "dollar gap" cannot be dealt with separately or without relation to some basic principles. Even the experts on those subjects are helpless unless they know the end results we wish to attain. I do not know how much, when, or in respect of what items the tariff rates should be modified. But I am confident that very little expert difficulty will be experienced in determining the appropriate tariff schedules if we test all solutions by the basic principles outlined. Therefore, if we identify and establish the fundamentals and insist on adherence to them, trade policy can be bent to augment military strength in the present and the future.

Maintaining Free World Unity

Statement by Secretary Dulles¹

I appreciate the privilege of appearing before you today in support of the Mutual Security Program for fiscal year 1955. This program is a major instrument of our U. S. foreign policy. Other witnesses will discuss with you its details. I shall deal primarily with the relation of this program to our overall foreign policies.

The program responds to our recognition of the following basic facts:

1. The Soviet and Chinese Communist rulers are continuing to seek world domination. Nothing has happened to indicate any change in this purpose. As a part of their expansionist program, they continue to maintain vast military establishments, huge propaganda machines, and the control of powerful subversive elements in the free nations.

2. The danger to our national security is neither a short-term danger nor is it exclusively military. For this reason, we must strive to hold our security commitments to levels which are compatible with our economic and social health. The same is true of our allies.

3. The United States cannot gain security in isolation, but only through a system of collective defense. Our survival depends upon keeping the

spiritual and material resources of other free nations out of Soviet hands, and upon maximizing the contribution which other free nations can make to the struggle against communism.

4. A number of free-world countries cannot maintain the military strength and the economic stability which they must have in their own interest—and which we want them to have in ours—unless we help them. Our help must be devised to meet their need—militarily in some countries, economic in others.

These are continuing principles. They underlie the Mutual Security Program and the request for authority to continue it for the coming year. Let me now discuss briefly some of the major developments of the past year in the principal areas of the world and the major factors affecting the program in these areas in the coming year.

Europe

As you know, one of our most significant and successful ventures in collective security is the 14-nation Atlantic alliance. NATO not only has created considerable local defensive power, but also provides the facilities needed to implement our broad deterrent policies. Under NATO, we and our allies have developed an extensive system of bases and facilities which are shared in com-

¹ Made before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on June 4 (press release 297).

mon, extending from Canada through the North Atlantic into Europe and the borders of Asia. Also, our NATO allies today have ground forces larger in size than our own. The six divisions of American troops which we have contributed to NATO are now standing beside approximately 90 active and reserve divisions from allied countries. We propose to program additional military equipment to strengthen forces being created by our allies.

While these forces are significant, they represent only the nucleus of our combined defensive and deterrent strength. They must be supplemented by all the other means needed to deter attack. As one means to this end, we propose in this program that the United States contribute to this objective by assisting the United Kingdom to develop a more modern and more powerful air force to augment NATO's limited ground forces.

The NATO system is an essential element in American policy. It represents both the keystone of European defense and the political framework for harmonizing allied policies and programs. The NATO Ministerial Council, which meets regularly twice a year, assures indispensable consultation on an authoritative basis.

I am pleased to say that the amount of new authorization required for our contribution to NATO's defensive strength next year will be much less than in the past.

Consideration of NATO progress requires consideration of the present status of the European Defense Community. NATO needs a German contribution in order to develop a forward strategy. It also needs a Franco-German unity which will end for all time the danger of friction and strife between these two nations. The French proposed to gain these ends by uniting six continental nations, including France and Germany, to create a new community whose armed forces, drawn from each member nation, would, in Europe, replace national forces.

It has now been more than 2 years since the treaty to create the EDC was signed. Since I visited Europe last year to stress the importance which this Government attaches to EDC, considerable progress has been made. Four of the six signatory nations have now ratified the treaty. Today, only France and Italy have not taken parliamentary action.

These delays contribute a negative factor from the standpoint of the free world. Not only have they delayed a German military contribution to Western defense, but they have also prevented West Germany from joining the family of sovereign nations. This is because the treaties to restore sovereignty to the West German Republic are by their terms contingent on EDC's coming into force. There is, of course, a duly elected West German Government, but it is not yet a sovereign government.

It is obvious that the present situation cannot continue much longer. There exists a conjunction of circumstances which will not indefinitely persist and which when changed might make it impossible to achieve the vital goal of binding together those European nations whose past differences have led to wars of evergrowing intensity. We have made it clear to our European allies that failure to approve and implement EDC would necessitate a thorough reexamination of American policies. It cannot now be said what the results of that reexamination would be. It can, however, safely be predicted that it would necessitate some basic changes and that certain attitudes and policies on our part, which seem to be taken for granted by certain of our allies, would have to be reviewed.

In this connection, the Congress last year earmarked a substantial portion of the Mutual Security funds for EDC. I understand that the Congress may wish to consider similar action this year. Since our present policies are based on the assumption that EDC will become a reality, there can be no reasonable objection to such action. The recent vote of the Socialist Congress in France is quite encouraging and could give additional force to our assumption that EDC will succeed. At the same time, I recommend to the Congress that the Mutual Security legislation be modified in such a way as to permit those countries which have already approved the EDC treaty to continue their military buildup pending final action by the other signatory governments.

During the past year our collective security system has been strengthened by a base agreement with Spain.² This arrangement will enlarge the facilities available to the United States air and naval craft in the western Mediterranean area. The successful conclusion of these negotiations represents a significant addition to our overall security.

The increase in the economic well-being of our European allies during the current year is an encouraging development. Generally speaking, their living standards have risen, their currencies are stronger, and the people feel a greater confidence in their future. This program is unquestionably built on the foundation of our past programs of economic assistance. It is also due in considerable measure to the adoption, this year, of the "long haul" concept for NATO.

By the use of methods of greater selectivity and by increased dependence upon new strategy, it will be possible to maintain a steady increase of defensive capability without military costs which our European allies could not carry without great economic help from the United States.

² For text, see BULLETIN of Oct. 5, 1953, p. 436.

We have sought and have almost accomplished the elimination of economic aid in Europe as pure budgetary support. We feel it is still important to us in our own interest to provide such help under a few exceptional circumstances—particularly where it is necessary to maintain military establishments which directly benefit us and which cannot be maintained to the degree deemed desirable by our military advisers without some support from the United States.

The case of Turkey illustrates this point. Turkey maintains about 20 divisions of splendid fighting quality at a strategic location. The Turkish economy cannot support this force without some assistance and, therefore, the Mutual Security Program includes such help. We believe that the money spent in this way brings a greater return to the United States in terms of its own security than if it were spent in some other way or if it were not spent at all.

Middle East and South Asia

In the Middle East the action of Turkey and Pakistan in concluding a treaty of friendship and cooperation provides an important element of encouragement. It is good that the concept of mutual security has taken hold in this crucial area. This is an area of great human, economic, and strategic value. It has been weakened by divisions. The fact that Pakistan and our NATO ally, Turkey, now plan to cooperate for security gives both of these countries a new source of strength. Also, they have set an example that others may follow.

There are among our friends in the Middle East and South Asia nations for which we propose economic aid not related to direct military benefits. The people of these nations are engaged in a struggle in which the primary need is not weapons of war but the tools of peace. The largest authorization sought in this category is for development aid for India. On some issues India's foreign policy differs from our own. But India's principles—the principles of democracy—are basically those which we cherish. The people and leaders of India are dedicated to the democratic form of government. Their constitution is modeled in part on our own with emphasis on the Bill of Rights. India is making a great and courageous effort to achieve the economic progress necessary to foster democratic institutions of its new independence.

This effort is in striking contrast to the developments in the nearby area of Communist Chinese dictatorship. There is no doubt in my mind that the people of Asia will be much influenced by their comparison of the economic progress made under the democratic system of India and the Communist dictatorship system in China. We believe that India's own great effort should be supported so that its plan for economic development shall

succeed. We should remember that among free nations there is room for diversity of views. We should not let our wish to help the people of India develop their nation be swayed by any temporary differences, however important. It is essential that we continue to help if for no other reason than to serve our enlightened self-interest. It would be a tragic day for us if the confidence which India's people have in their democratic institutions should fail.

Latin America

I should like to say a word now about this hemisphere. The recent action of the Tenth Inter-American Conference at Caracas marks an important step forward in unifying this hemisphere against the threat of international communism.

There was then adopted a Declaration of Solidarity for the Preservation of the Political Integrity of the American States against International Communist Intervention.³ It was determined, with only Guatemala dissenting, that the domination or control of the political institutions of any American state by the international Communist movement would constitute a threat to the sovereignty and political independence of the American states, endangering the peace of America.

It is not, however, enough that the Communist threat should be recognized for the danger that it is. It is also necessary that steps be taken to show solidarity on the economic front.

Living standards in most of Latin America are low and there are large and vocal elements who seek to place the blame on the United States.

Our Mutual Security Program recognizes the importance of economic growth and better standards of living in Latin America. Private enterprise is the main channel through which our Nation can help. However, certain governmental measures are also needed as a supplement. These include the technical cooperation programs. The Mutual Security Program for 1955 will provide for this type of assistance in Latin America and elsewhere. It produces results far greater than can be measured by the dollars appropriated, for it spreads knowledge that helps others to help themselves.

Far East

In the Far East, the end of the fighting in Korea has its impact on the 1955 Mutual Security Program.

It is no longer necessary for the Department of Defense to expend the billions which were involved in conducting active fighting. In place of this

³ For text, see *ibid.*, Apr. 26, 1954, p. 638.

destructive and wasteful expenditure, there is now a program for relief and rehabilitation of the Republic of Korea. This in part is being conducted by the United Nations, but the main part is a United States effort.

It is an immense task to restore domestic well-being in war-ravaged Korea. However, the cost represents only a small fraction of what would be the cost of waging war. We believe that the accomplishment of this peaceful task will be in the interest of the United States and of the free world if it shows, as we know it can, the capacity of free men to excel in the arts of peace.

The Government of Japan is now planning to assume a larger share of responsibility for its own defense. On May 1, 1954, a Mutual Defense Assistance Agreement between the United States and Japan came into effect.⁴ Within the last few days the Japanese Diet has enacted legislation establishing a new national defense agency and authorizing an increase in the present size of the national safety forces. Under the Mutual Defense Assistance Agreement, the United States is planning military end-item assistance to Japanese defense forces. While this will create an item of cost for the United States, it is a cost which will have compensating benefits.

Indochina

The situation in Indochina is fraught with danger, not only to the immediate area but to the security of the United States and its allies in the Pacific area. The area is one which is vital to the peace and safety of the United States.

Communist China has been supplying to the Viet Minh an everincreasing volume of munitions and military supplies. There is also evidence that Soviet arms have been supplied in increasing quantities to the Communist force in Indochina.

In their classic manner, the Communists have sought to capitalize on local aspirations for independence and have used these aspirations to gain control of a movement which was primarily nationalistic in its inception. The rulers of Communist China train and equip in China the troops of their puppet Ho Chi-Minh. They supply these troops with large amounts of artillery and ammunition made in Soviet-bloc countries. They supply military and technical guidance in the staff section of Ho Chi-Minh's Command, at the division level, and specialized units such as the signal and engineering corps, artillery units, and transportation.

The plan is not only to take over Indochina but to dominate all of Southeast Asia. The struggle thus carries a grave threat not only to Viet-Nam, Laos, and Cambodia, but also to such friendly neighboring countries as Thailand, Malaya,

Burma, Indonesia, the Philippines, Australia, and New Zealand.

The United States Government has been alert to the growing peril. We have encouraged the French in taking steps toward the granting of full independence to Viet-Nam, Laos, and Cambodia. We have provided a great part of the military materiel needed by the French Union forces and the national armies of Cambodia, Laos, and Viet-Nam. We have agreed to finance most of the cost of the fight to maintain the freedom of the Associated States. Particularly we have sought to help in equipping and maintaining an increased number of national forces.

In the Mutual Security Program for 1955 provision is made for continuing such support. While the many uncertainties that lie ahead, it is essential that there be adequate flexibility in the use of funds appropriated so that necessary expenditures can be made to accomplish in Southeast Asia and the Western Pacific the policies and purposes declared in the Mutual Security Act.

You are all aware that the French and their Viet-Nam ally have suffered reverses, notably the fall of Dien-Bien-Phu, after a superb defense. The present situation is grave, but by no means hopeless.

In the present conference at Geneva, we and other free nations are seeking a formula by which the fighting can be ended and the people of Indochina assured true independence. So far, the Communist attitude is not encouraging. It is impossible to predict what the future holds.

The uncertainties of the future in the Far East, like the exigencies of the world situation elsewhere, indicate the essential need for flexibility in the use of the funds authorized and appropriated in this program. If we are to be able to make the most effective use of what we have, the President must be in a position to move quickly and decisively to do what will, under the circumstances, best serve the ends which the act is designed to promote. For this reason we believe that the flexibility provided in this legislation in the past should be continued.

I should like to refer briefly to the administration of this program. I said last year that I thought it could be best administered by another agency outside the Department of State. I know that the question of the proper agency for administering the program has been a matter of considerable discussion in the Congress—as it has in the executive branch. I think I should tell you that I am well satisfied with the manner in which the present arrangements have worked out and recommend their continuation for the next fiscal year.

In conclusion, let me look for a moment at this Mutual Security Program in its larger meaning.

The present world situation demands, as a first priority, the maintenance of unity and cooperation among the non-Communist nations. Not one of us alone could face with assurance an all-out strug-

⁴ For text, see *ibid.*, Apr. 5, 1954, p. 520.

Current Legislation on Foreign Policy: 83d Congress, 2d Session

- Review of the United Nations Charter. Hearing before a Subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations on Proposals to Amend or Otherwise Modify Existing International Peace and Security Organizations, Including the United Nations. Part 1, January 18 and March 3, 1954, 62 pp.
- Study of Coffee Prices. Hearings before a Special Subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Banking and Currency on S. Res. 182 and S. Res. 195, to Investigate Recent Coffee Price Increases and Problems Relating to Economic Stabilization, etc. Part 1, February 8, 9, March 5, 16, 18, April 5 and 6, 1954, 354 pp.
- Report on the Operations of the Department of State (Under Public Law 584). Message from the President Transmitting a Report by the Secretary of State on the Operations of the Department of State, Pursuant to Section 2 of Public Law 584, 79th Congress. H. Doc. 365, April 7, 1954, V, 81 pp.
- Admeasurement of Vessels, Amendments to Ship Mortgage Act, and Rules for Loading and Stowage of Grain. Hearings before a Subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce on S. 2814, S. 2407, and S. 602. March 22, 23, 24, and April 8, 1954, 126 pp.
- Amendment to Flammable Fabrics Act (Exemption of Fabrics Not Highly Flammable). Hearing before a Subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce on S. 3379. May 11, 1954, 40 pp.
- Authorizing Transmission and Disposition by the Secretary of the Interior of Electric Energy Generated at Falcon Dam on the Rio Grande. Report to accompany S. 3090. S. Rept. 1340, May 14, 1954, 8 pp.
- How the United Nations Charter Has Developed. Staff Study No. 2, Subcommittee on the United Nations Charter of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations. Committee print. May 18, 1954, V, 20 pp.
- Amending Certain Provisions of Part II of the Interstate Commerce Act to Provide for the Regulation, for Purposes of Safety and Protection of the Public, of Certain Foreign Motor Carriers Operating in the United States. Report to accompany H. R. 7468. H. Rept. 1628, May 19, 1954, 12 pp.
- Special Report on Spain and French Morocco Covering Economic and Military Programs Under Spanish Agreements, Spain and Her People (Background Analysis), French Moroccan Airbase Program, Department of State Activities, United States Information Agency Activities, by Hon. Dennis Chavez, Chairman, Special Subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Appropriations. Committee print. January 1954. 39 pp.
- Health Inquiry. Hearing before the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce on Hospital and Medical Care Programs in Foreign Countries. Part 8; Jan. 11, 1954; Health and Maternity Insurance Throughout the World; Hospital and Medical Care Programs in Great Britain, Sweden, New Zealand, Australia. IV, pp. 2565-3151.
- Regulation of Coffee Futures Trading. Hearing before the Senate Committee on Agriculture and Forestry on S. 1386, a Bill To Amend Section 2 of the Commodity Exchange Act, as Amended, Relating to the Meaning of the Word "Commodity". Feb. 2, 1954. 76 pp.

le with the Communist empire. Its rulers now
old in servitude 800 million people, and they
have harnessed these people and the great mate-
rial resources of their lands to a triple threat of
war, subversion, and propaganda which consti-
tutes the most formidable menace that free peoples
have ever had to face. Fortunately, the free world
has the capacity for instantaneous retaliation helps to
neutralize the Soviet threat of mass destruction.
Nevertheless, the need for unity among free
peoples in developing additional resistance and
deterrents to Communist expansion is increasingly
evident.

Unity requires mutual respect and forbearance
on the part of all of the free nations. There is a
natural impatience in each free country with the
inhibitions and limitations of collective action.
In some countries, there are those who protest that
the cooperation of their governments in this com-
mon cause means subjugation to alien influence
and who argue that they should prove their inde-
pendence by practicing neutralism. Some in this
country feel that the United States would do better
if it sought to cast off the world-wide military and
economic burdens and political anxieties which
history has thrust upon us.

But such a course would merely play the Soviet
game. The destruction of free world unity is the
principal goal of Soviet strategy. All their di-
plomacy, their propaganda, their pressures, and
their inducements have this aim.

This United States Mutual Security Program is
one of the ways to prevent the success of Soviet
strategy. It helps indispensably to maintain a
unity which is vital to our own security. Without
that unity, the United States would quickly be
forced to become a garrison state and the stran-
gling noose of communism would be drawn ever
tighter about us.

Moreover, the Mutual Security Program per-
mits the free world to develop more total strength
than we could possibly develop by spending the
same amount of money in this country. Let us
never forget that our allies are spending three
dollars for defense purposes for every dollar that
we give them. The safety of this country no
longer depends merely upon our own armed forces,
important as they are, but upon the combined
military power and political and economic sta-
bility of the free world as a whole. For this
reason, I can say with complete assurance that
every dollar in this Mutual Security Program is
designed to protect and advance the security and
well-being of the United States itself. I urge,
therefore, that this program be given your prompt
and sympathetic consideration.

Amending the Atomic Energy Act

Statement by Secretary Dulles¹

I appreciate the opportunity to testify before your Committee in support of the foreign policy aspects of the bills to amend the Atomic Energy Act of 1946.

Since 1946 much has happened. At that time the United States had a unique position—virtually an exclusive position—with regard to the utilization of atomic energy. We were prepared to donate our unique body of knowledge to a dependable international organization. Having it within our power to dominate the world by force—something contrary to every principle of our national morality—we proposed voluntarily to divest ourselves of that power and place it under international control. Never in history has any nation made a comparable proposal. It was rejected by the Soviet Union, which thereby must assume before history the consequences which may come from its stubborn choice that this vast power of human destruction should be a national rather than an internationalized asset.

In 1946 it seemed that, subject to possible internationalization, total secrecy would best serve the interests of our nation and of all humanity. Since 1946 such monopoly as we had has ended. To some extent that was due to treachery and treason. But we would be foolish not to rate highly the scientific capabilities of the Soviet society. It is not easy to estimate the relative roles played by different factors; but we do know that in combination they have led to a situation such that our potential enemies have a knowledge vastly superior to that of most of the nations which we count as friends.

This is an unhealthy state of affairs. It means that the present very strict secrecy requirements of the 1946 Act no longer represent the wisest international policy. We need to assert leadership in turning atomic energy to the peaceful service of mankind. To some extent this is merely enlightened self-interest, since if we do not take this step our foreign raw-material sources will tend to

dry up and be turned to uses for which others may supply the technology. Also we need to equip our allies with the knowledge which will enable them to counter the kind of atomic warfare which we know the Communist forces are equipped to wage.

The pending bill would serve these foreign policy objectives. These objectives are both indispensable and urgent. They call for action apart from the important domestic aspects of the proposed legislation.

International Cooperation—Peaceful Uses

About 2 weeks ago it was announced that the 1954 thermonuclear testing in the Pacific was finished. Speaking of this testing, the Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission, Admiral Strauss, had earlier said “. . . one important result of these hydrogen bomb developments has been the enhancement of our military capability to the point where we should soon be more free to increase our emphasis on the peaceful uses of atomic power—at home and abroad.”² As I see it, a main purpose of the proposed legislation is to do just that—“to increase our emphasis on the peaceful uses of atomic power at home and abroad.”

In London, disarmament negotiations in the United Nations Disarmament Commission Subcommittee are going on. We are searching for a long-term solution to the problem of ever-increasing armaments. Here at home we are searching for interim techniques to permit peacetime uses of atomic energy to go forward until we find a solution to the armaments problem. We cannot any longer adhere to the theory that knowledge, because it is capable of use for destruction, must be denied for uses of construction.

President Eisenhower recognized this when he proposed his international atomic energy agency plan last December before the United Nations Assembly.³ By amending the Atomic Energy Act now as proposed, we will be laying some of the

¹ Made before the Joint Congressional Committee on Atomic Energy on June 3 (press release 295).

² BULLETIN of Apr. 12, 1954, p. 549.

³ *Ibid.*, Dec. 21, 1953, p. 847.

groundwork for a future era of peace when atomic energy inevitably will be doing constructive work in the world.

This policy is not only humanitarian. It also serves our national interest. We shall get more uranium from abroad when the uranium business becomes more advantageous for supplying nations in terms of advancing their nuclear power aspirations. They want knowledge even more than money. This want can only be met by us by making it possible for some American technical information and some American material to go to such countries when it is in our interest.

There is a degree of dependence on our part on off-shore sources of uranium for our national program. Naturally such uranium supplying nations look to the day when electric power will be produced in such nations from their own uranium.

Three circumstances—(1) the developing Soviet program, (2) our dependence on foreign uranium, and (3) legitimate hopes for nuclear power abroad—combine to create the need to amend the international cooperation provisions of the Atomic Energy Act of 1946.

Other countries are making progress in atomic power technology. There is a growing tendency for certain raw-materials supplying nations which are not industrially well advanced to turn to such other countries for nuclear power information because they have been disappointed by our inability to give them significant help. It is clear to me that if this trend continues, the interests of the United States will be seriously affected. There is no need here to emphasize how important it is for us to stay ahead of the U. S. S. R. in providing knowledge of how to put atomic energy to peaceful uses.

In extending abroad, under proper security safeguards, the evolving technology of atomic energy for peaceful purposes, we shall tighten the bonds that tie our friends abroad to us, we shall assure material resources that we need, and we shall maintain world leadership in atomic energy—leadership which today is such a large element of our national prestige.

President's U.N. Proposal

I know that the hope has been expressed that the proposed legislation will be sufficiently broad to permit implementation of the President's international atomic energy proposals expressed last December. I would certainly like to be able to tell you that the time is ripe for putting such proposals into operation. This unfortunately is not the case, and until we have a clearer idea of how the international discussions on the President's proposal will evolve, we are not in a position to state that the bill contains all the authority which will ultimately be required. However, the lan-

guage of the proposed bills does not offer any obstacles to the President's proposal and lays the general groundwork needed to implement it. I would point out, however, that the international negotiations to implement this plan are still in an inconclusive state.

International Cooperation—Military Uses

I support also a change in our atomic energy law to permit disclosure of certain military information to our allies. The President some 3 months ago said:

Our own security will increase as our allies gain information concerning the use of and the defense against atomic weapons. Some of our allies, in fact, are now producing fissionable materials or weapons, supporting effective atomic energy research, and developing peacetime uses for atomic power. But all of them should become better informed in the problems of atomic warfare and, therefore, better prepared to meet the contingency of such warfare.⁴

The gravity of the present international situation lends great emphasis to these words of the President and lends added urgency to this matter of increasing our allies' capabilities in these new techniques of war. We particularly need authority to transfer to nations participating in defense arrangements with the United States a limited type of tactical information essential to defense planning and training of personnel for atomic warfare.

In the conduct of our foreign relations much is beyond our control. But here is an instance where it is clearly within our control to increase United States ability to gain greater security. The present legal restraint on disclosure of even limited types of weapons information has become a real handicap in our collective effort with our allies to build necessary strength to resist aggression. I understand that the Department of Defense is concerned because the remedial language of the bill authorizing this type of military interchange falls somewhat short of what is needed. I hope a way can be found to permit the amount of interchange of military information which is needed to enhance our security.

In modernizing our atomic energy law I feel that we will be taking three steps in the direction of peace: First, we will be increasing the deterrent factor represented by our weapons stockpile by the provisions we have requested permitting us to integrate certain tactical weapons information into our foreign military planning; second, by being able to give our friends abroad atomic energy information and material, we shall be strengthening our capacity to build the raw-material base on which our entire atomic energy program rests; and third, we will be strengthening the ties which unite the free nations by a sense of fellowship.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Mar. 1, 1954, p. 304.

Throughout the world this legislative proceeding is being followed with unusual interest. Foreign statesmen and soldiers are waiting to see whether the United States, through this Congress, will follow through with its program to make atomic armaments a part of the weapons systems of the alliances in which the United States is a partner. Scientists and engineers of friendly nations are also waiting to see if America will be willing to open up some of its peacetime nuclear technology in return for raw materials and other advantages flowing to the United States. Perhaps most significant of all, however, are the hundreds of millions of people in the world who, having heard of the promise of atomic energy, wait eagerly to see if there are benefits in it for them in addition to the military shield which has held off the aggressive forces of Soviet communism for almost a decade. The military atom is a fearsome thing, even to those who owe their liberties to it. The constructive use of atomic energy could promote both peace and plenty, and so holds a special place in man's dream of the future.

The bills which your Committee is considering need to be enacted if our nation is to serve its own interests and at the same time to show the world anew that our national interests harmonize with the interests of men everywhere.

TREATY INFORMATION

Signing of Supplementary Tax Protocol With United Kingdom

Press release 282 dated May 25

On May 25 Secretary Dulles and the British Ambassador, Sir Roger Makins, signed a supplementary protocol amending the income-tax convention of April 16, 1945, as amended by the supplementary protocol of June 6, 1946.

The 1945 convention relates to the avoidance of double taxation. The provisions of article XXII set forth a procedure by which the convention may be extended to overseas territories. Those provisions, for example, would make it possible for the British Government to give this Government a formal notification of a desire that the 1945 convention, as amended, apply to "all or any of its colonies, overseas territories, protectorates, or territories in respect of which it exercises a mandate, which impose taxes substantially similar in char-

acter to those which are the subject" of the convention. A period of 60 days from the date of that notification is allowed for this Government to act with respect to the notification. In the absence of a specific rejection by this Government, the extended application would be automatic at the end of the period of 60 days. Moreover, the entire convention would apply, no provision being made for modifying or eliminating any of the convention's provisions so far as the territories are concerned.

As a result of action taken, and policies expressed, by the Senate in approving income-tax conventions with certain other countries in 1948, 1951, and 1952, having the effect of deleting or modifying certain provisions similar to provisions which had been approved in the United Kingdom convention, it became necessary to consider an amendment of the territorial-extension provisions in article XXII of the 1945 convention with the United Kingdom.

The new supplementary protocol has only one substantive article, whereby the territorial-extension procedure provided in article XXII of the 1945 convention is amended so that (a) no limitation of time is placed on action by either Government in taking action with respect to a notification from the other, (b) certain provisions of the convention could be deleted or modified so far as extension to particular colonies or other territories is concerned, and (c) no extension would be effective until formally accepted by the Government receiving the notification. In these respects, the protocol makes the convention with the United Kingdom consistent, so far as territorial-extension provisions are concerned, with corresponding provisions in tax conventions between the United States and certain other countries.

The supplementary protocol will be transmitted to the Senate for its advice and consent to ratification. According to its terms, it will become an integral part of the convention when brought into force by the exchange of instruments of ratification.

Signing of Estate-Tax Convention With Belgium

Press release 288 dated May 27

On May 27 Secretary Dulles and the Belgian Ambassador, Baron Silvercruys, signed a convention between the United States and Belgium for the avoidance of double taxation and the prevention of fiscal evasion with respect to taxes on estates and successions.

The provisions of the convention follow, in general, the pattern of estate-tax conventions entered into by the United States with a number of other

countries. Such conventions are designed to eliminate double taxation in connection with the settlement in one country of estates in which nationals of the other country have interests.

So far as the United States is concerned, the convention with Belgium applies only with respect to U.S. (that is, Federal) taxes. It does not apply to the imposition of taxes by the several States, the District of Columbia, or the Territories or possessions of the United States.

Under the terms of the convention, it will be brought into force by the exchange of instruments of ratification but effective only as to the estates or successions of persons dying on or after the date of such exchange. The convention will be submitted to the U.S. Senate for advice and consent to ratification.

Current Actions

MULTILATERAL

Shipping

Convention on safety of life at sea. Signed at London June 10, 1948. Entered into force November 19, 1952. TIAS 2495. *Acceptance deposited:* Nicaragua, February 19, 1954.

International Load Line Convention. Signed at London July 5, 1930. TS 858. *Notification of accession:* Nicaragua, February 19, 1954. *Application to:* Federation of Malaya, April 10, 1954.

Trade and Commerce

Convention on uniformity of nomenclature for the classification of merchandise. Signed at Santiago May 3, 1923. Entered into force October 8, 1924. TS 754. *Notification of withdrawal:* United States, May 24, 1954. Withdrawal will be effective May 24, 1955.

BILATERAL

Belgium

Convention for the avoidance of double taxation and the prevention of fiscal evasion with respect to taxes on estates and successions. Signed at Washington May 27, 1954. Enters into force upon exchange of ratifications.

Dominican Republic

Agreement amending vocational education program agreement of 1951 (TIAS 2244), as modified, and providing financial contributions for the program. Effected by exchange of notes at Ciudad Trujillo February 19 and March 19, 1954. Entered into force March 19, 1954.

Japan

Agreement for the loan of United States naval vessels to Japan. Signed at Tokyo May 14, 1954. Enters into force upon ratification by Japan.

Pakistan

Mutual defense assistance agreement. Signed at Karachi May 19, 1954. Entered into force May 19, 1954.

June 14, 1954

U.S. Delegations to International Conferences

International Labor Conference

The Department of State announced on May 28 (press release 291) that the United States will be represented at the thirty-seventh session of the International Labor Conference, to open at Geneva on June 2, by the following delegation:

REPRESENTING THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES

Delegates

J. Ernest Wilkins, Assistant Secretary of Labor
Arthur B. Langille, Governor, State of Washington, Olympia, Wash.

Substitute Delegate and Adviser

Warren E. Burger, Assistant Attorney General in charge of the Civil Division, Department of Justice

Advisers

Donald H. Dabelstein, Assistant Director for Program, Office of Vocational Rehabilitation, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare
Theophil C. Kammholz, Consultant to Secretary of Commerce, Department of Commerce
Alice K. Leopold, Director, Women's Bureau, Department of Labor
Otis E. Mulliken, Officer in Charge, United Nations Social Affairs, Office of United Nations Economic and Social Affairs, Department of State
Edward B. Persons, Chief, ILO Division, Office of International Labor Affairs, Department of Labor

Advisers

Philip B. Sullivan, Labor Adviser, Bureau of Far Eastern Affairs, Department of State
Arnold Zempel, Executive Director, Office of International Labor Affairs, Department of Labor

REPRESENTING THE EMPLOYERS OF THE UNITED STATES

Delegate

William L. McGrath, President, Williamson Heater Company, Cincinnati, Ohio

Advisers

Robert S. Dunham, Assistant General Manager of Industrial Relations, Ford Motor Company, Dearborn, Mich.
Donald Knowlton, Hill and Knowlton, Cleveland, Ohio
Richard K. Lane, President, Public Service Company of Oklahoma, Tulsa, Okla.
Milton M. Olander, Director, Industrial Relations, Owens-Illinois Glass Company, Toledo, Ohio
Sybil S. Patterson, Director of Employee Relations, National Association of Manufacturers, New York, N. Y.
William G. Van Meter, Attorney, Labor Relations Department, Chamber of Commerce of the United States, Washington, D. C.

REPRESENTING THE WORKERS OF THE UNITED STATES

Delegate

George P. Delaney, International Representative, American Federation of Labor, Washington, D. C.

Advisers

Alexander Barkan, Political Action Director, Textile Workers Union, Congress of Industrial Organizations, New York, N. Y.

William J. Buckley, International Secretary-Treasurer, International Brotherhood of Boilermakers, Iron Ship-

builders, Blacksmiths, Forgers and Helpers, Kansas City, Kans.

Elmer F. Cope, International Representative, United Steelworkers of America, Congress of Industrial Organizations, Lewisburg, Ohio

Edward S. Miller, Secretary-Treasurer, Hotel and Restaurant and Bartenders International Union, Cincinnati, Ohio

Leslie L. Myers, President, International Association of Bridge, Structural and Ornamental Iron Workers of the American Federation of Labor, District Council, Washington, D. C.

Michael Ross, Congress of Industrial Organizations Representative, International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, Brussels, Belgium

Secretary of Delegation

Thomas J. Hunt, Office of International Conferences, Department of State

Documents Officer

John F. Jason, Resident United States Delegate to International Organizations, Geneva, Switzerland

The International Labor Conference is a forum in which representatives of employers and workers as well as governments for the 69 member countries formulate, through consultation and debate, suggested standards looking to the improvement of working and living conditions around the world. The other principal organs of the International Labor Organization (ILO) are the Governing Body, which is the executive council, and the International Labor Office, which is the secretariat of the organization.

The items on the agenda for the thirty-seventh session of the Conference, as determined by the Governing Body at its 120th session (Geneva, November 1952), and by the International Labor Conference at its 36th session (Geneva, June 1953), are as follows: (1) report of the Director General, (2) financial and budgetary questions, (3) information and reports on the application of Conventions and Recommendations, (4) vocational rehabilitation of the disabled, (5) migrant workers, (6) penal sanctions for breaches of contract of employment, and (7) holidays with pay. The work of the ILO, under the Expanded Program of Technical Assistance, will also be discussed by the Conference.

U.N. Trusteeship Council

The Department of State announced on June 2 (press release 292) that the United States would be represented at the 14th session of the U.N. Trusteeship Council, convening on that date at U.N. Headquarters in New York City, by Mason Sears, U.S. representative in the Council, and two advisers, Robert R. Robbins and Curtis C. Strong of the Office of Dependent Area Affairs, Department of State.

One of the topics of particular interest to the United States on the Council's provisional agenda

is the United States report on the administration of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands. For this purpose, the High Commissioner of the Territory, Frank E. Midkiff, will come to New York to serve as special representative and to answer questions by Council members regarding conditions in the Trust Territory. He will be assisted in this task by William Yeomans of the Department of the Interior and Commander L. G. Findley of the Department of the Navy.

The 14th session is expected to adjourn on or about July 16.

International Cotton Advisory Committee

The Department of State announced on June 4 (press release 299) that the United States Government would be represented at the Thirteenth Plenary Meeting of the International Cotton Advisory Committee at São Paulo, Brazil, beginning June 7, by the following delegation:

Delegate and chairman

John H. Davis, Assistant Secretary of Agriculture

Associate delegate

Edwin Dean White, Deputy Director, Office of Food and Agriculture, Foreign Operations Administration

Alternate delegate

F. Marion Rhodes, Director, Cotton Division, Commodity Stabilization Service, Department of Agriculture

Advisers

Clarence C. Brooks, Consul General, American Consulate General, São Paulo

Read P. Dunn, Director of Foreign Trade, National Cotton Council

Rene Lutz, Deputy Director, International Resources Staff, Bureau of Foreign Commerce, Department of Commerce

Stanley Nehmer, *Secretary of Delegation*, Chief, Agricultural Raw Materials Branch, Agricultural Products Staff, Department of State

The International Cotton Advisory Committee was established in accordance with a resolution approved by the governments of ten of the major cotton-exporting countries at the International Cotton Meeting held at Washington in 1939 for the purpose of discussing the international cotton situation. Its functions are to observe and keep in close touch with developments in the world cotton situation and to suggest, as and when advisable, measures considered suitable and practicable for the achievement of ultimate international collaboration.

Governments of 30 cotton exporting and importing countries are members of the Committee at the present time.

The first and second sessions of the Twelfth Plenary Meeting were held at Washington in May and November 1953, respectively.

June 14, 1954

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Check List of Department of State Press Releases: May 31-June 6

Releases may be obtained from the News Division, Department of State, Washington 25, D. C. Press releases issued prior to May 31 which appear in this issue of the BULLETIN are Nos. 282 of May 25, 288 of May 27, and 291 of May 28.

No.	Date	Subject
292	6/2	Trusteeship Council meeting
293	6/2	German Patent Appeal Board
294	6/3	Murphy: Jews in Rumania
295	6/3	Dulles: Atomic Energy Act
†296	6/3	Holland appointed to Railway Commission
297	6/4	Dulles: Mutual Security Act
298	6/4	Eric Johnston's trip
299	6/4	Cotton Advisory Committee
300	6/5	U.S.-Turkish communique
†301	6/5	Americans in China
302	6/5	Yoshida's visit postponed
303	6/5	New Malayan High Commissioner

† Held for a later issue of the BULLETIN.



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GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE
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Besides dealing with multilateral aspects of economic and political questions involving the United States and other American Republics, this volume includes also correspondence on the bilateral relations between the United States and the governments of 19 American Republics.

Of chief interest in the record on multilateral negotiations are (1) the preliminary documentation on the Inter-American Conference for the Maintenance of Peace held at Buenos Aires; (2) correspondence on the Chaco Peace Conference, which achieved agreement of Bolivia and Paraguay to a Protocolized Act putting into effect recommendations of the Conference, and resumption of diplomatic relations between the two former belligerents.

More than two-thirds of the correspondence on bilateral relations is concerned with commercial and financial topics, particularly with the reciprocal trade agreements program.

Copies of this volume, the last to be issued in the series of five *Foreign Relations* volumes for the year 1936, may be purchased from the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D.C., for \$4.50 each.

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